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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

CONTENTS

PAGE

EDITORIAL NOTES 81

ANGUS STEWART WOODBURNE. James H. Franklin 82

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY SALVATION? A. Stewart Woodburne 84

EAST MEETS WEST. A. Stewart Woodburne 91

REBUILDING THE THEOLOGICAL CURRICULUM. Conrad Henry Moehlman 96

THE WAY OF THE MYSTICS. Rufus M. Jones 115

SUPPRESSION OF MINORITY OPINION IN TIMES OF CRISIS IN AMERICA. Ray H. Abrams 124

BOOK REVIEWS 143

BOOK NOTICES 160

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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EDITORIAL NOTES

To all readers of THE CROZER QUARTERLY the report of the death of the Editor, Professor A. Stewart Woodburne, in Madura, India, on Sunday, February 13, 1938, will bring a very real sense of personal loss. His editorship of this QUARTERLY since 1931 has revealed his strength of mind, his fine cultural attainments, his wide range of knowledge and his exceptional literary qualities. His editorials have always been keenly analytical of present-day religious problems, fresh, wholesome and constructive in their suggestions and conclusions.

Before leaving on his world tour, Doctor Woodburne left with us an article recently prepared to be printed in the QUARTERLY as occasion might arise. We are happy to have this interpretation of the central doctrine of Christianity, which proves his characteristic depth of thought and clarity of expression in dealing with the most profound religious subjects. How directly he goes to the heart of his problem and clearly opens to our understanding the redeeming truth which abides through all the definitions of the centuries of human thought!

We had also suggested to Doctor Woodburne, before his departure, that if time should permit he might let his readers have an article from his pen reporting some of his own personal observances of the world situation, especially from the view-point of religion. When word of his untimely passing reached us we feared we should be disappointed, but before many days his paper, "East Meets West," was received. This is Stewart Woodburne at his best—irenic, kindly, understanding, sympathetic—interpreter to one another of the noblest qualities of all races. It was this that made him beloved in Occident and Orient.

In the section, "Book Reviews," appear two reviews written by Professor Woodburne shortly before his death and received, we are grateful to say, in time for appearance in this number.

On the following page are a few words by President James H. Franklin of the Seminary in memory of our colleague and friend.

Friends, we are sure, will wish to keep this April number of THE CROZER QUARTERLY as a memorial of its late esteemed Editor.

ANGUS STEWART WOODBURNE

1881–1938

In the sudden death of Angus Stewart Woodburne, Crozer Theological Seminary has sustained a great loss. While the blow falls with greatest severity on the members of his immediate family, we suffer deeply as a school also. The students, the faculty and the trustees of the Seminary are in sorrow.

Doctor Woodburne's connection with our Seminary began in 1930, when, after useful service as a missionary in India, he accepted the call to the Chair of Christian Theology at Crozer, a position which he was particularly well qualified to fill. His aptitudes were in the direction of theology and allied subjects, such as philosophy, psychology and comparative religion. For some years he had taught philosophy at Madras Christian College, and for much of his life he had read widely and thought carefully in the fields to which he was related in his work with us. He was a man of unusual scholarship, fully abreast of the theological and philosophical movements of his time, and irenic and constructive in his teaching. His students were led to face some of the most difficult problems of religion in the light of modern knowledge, and found their faith strengthened through such experiences. Outside the classroom also, both among students and the younger pastors in the community, he was a helpful mentor in the study of the problems of the day which religious leaders encounter. We shall miss him greatly.

Doctor Woodburne was reared in Canada, and, after studying at McMaster University, he served for a time as a missionary in India as an appointee of the Canadian Baptist Board. Later he took graduate work at the University of Chicago, from which he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He was then appointed a missionary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, and returned to India. He never lost his missionary passion. In his quiet way he continued to manifest interest in the Orient as well as in the Occident. His residence and work in each region helped him to render better service to the other. He was a Christian ambassador all his days. On his Sabbatic leave from the Seminary, 1937-1938, it was his desire to spend the time chiefly in the Orient, teaching for brief periods in two or three Christian schools.

Early in August Doctor and Mrs. Woodburne and their daughter sailed for the Far East, expecting to stop first in Japan and then proceed to China for a semester in the University of Shanghai. But before their ship reached the Orient the hostilities between Japan and China were

raging, and the family proceeded to the Philippine Islands. There it was quickly arranged to have Doctor Woodburne spend most of the time in work at Central Philippine College, Iloilo.

Letters written upon arrival in India indicated the joy with which the entire family had returned to the scenes they had learned to love in other years. It seemed like a dream come true, and Doctor Woodburne was settling down for a few weeks of teaching at the American College in Madura, when a very common Oriental malady seized him. From that infection he appeared to be recovering and was able to preach with comparative ease on February 6. However, almost immediately after that, other troubles developed, and he answered his divine summons on February 13. From his beloved India he entered God's Other Room.

In the midst of our sorrow we lift grateful hearts for the life of Angus Stewart Woodburne, his faith in the Eternal Christ, and the service he rendered for the kingdom of God. We do not say farewell. Rather do we say good-night to our comrade, and say it in the blessed hope of a morning after God's own good plan.

JAMES H. FRANKLIN.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY SALVATION?

A. STEWART WOODBURNE

One possible approach to the question of the meaning of salvation would be through comparative religion. Interesting contrasts could be noted as between Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Christian conceptions, at once in regard to the need for salvation, the methods of its attainment, and its characteristic features. Another approach would be through the history of Christian thought from New Testament times to the present. This would impress us with the amazing differences of interpretations and theories that have been propounded as the emphasis has shifted and the experience varied. Either of these approaches would yield fruitful results, well worthy of our effort and attention. Even though the approach on which we decide be more immediate and practical, nevertheless it can be made more adequately if we have the results of these other studies as a background.

The meaning that we give to the concept, salvation, is partially the result of felt needs that press for satisfaction, and partially the result of historical processes. We must take both factors into account, if we are to avoid the danger of fragmentary thinking. In this paper, I propose first to examine the needs that demand satisfaction, or the things from which we need to be saved; and then, later, to discuss briefly the Christian tradition, and how it is relevant to our present situation. Perhaps from that analysis, we may be able to reach a tentative definition of what salvation means for us.

I. Our Need to Be Saved

The deficiencies of our human nature are many and varied. They arise from all sorts of causes and affect us in all sorts of ways. They are concerned with every aspect of life, and with every possible relation in which we are involved. Some are biological; others are mental. Some are social; others are individual. Some are cosmic; others are moral. Some are due to environmental conditions; others are due to organic factors. Through and through we are the creatures of need. We experience the sense of dependence on elements that we cannot control, and the sense of inadequacy to deal with problems and situations with which we are confronted.

I would like to suggest what seems to me to be a fundamental thesis—that every human need has religious significance. This is more apparent with our present knowledge of the integrative character of

personality than it ever was in the past. There is nothing that affects life in any way that does not affect it in every way. Alexis Carrel in *Man the Unknown* says with reference to disease: "In illness the body preserves the same unity as in health. It is sick as a whole" (p. 112). Again, discussing the old problem of the relations between soul and body, he calls it a false problem. "There are no such relations," he says. "Neither the soul nor the body can be investigated separately" (p. 118). This is the opinion of a modern scientist, and is one of basic significance to the student of the religious life.

In attempting to interpret the need and experience of salvation, Christian thinking has been too frequently handicapped by the technical jargon of current theology. Such phrases as "original sin," "total depravity," "guilty nature," "imputed righteousness," and "changed essence" are the creations of sincere minds trying to interpret human nature and Christian experience. When we study the social and philosophical background of those who created them, we can understand to some degree their reasons for using such language. Language at any time is an instrument and a symbol for conveying meanings. Repeatedly in the history of Christian thinking phrases have survived, however, when their original meanings have been forgotten, with the result that their significance is not only inadequate but untrue in a succeeding period.

The most appealing opportunity that invites our thoughtful attention today is that of interpreting vital Christian experiences in terms of the philosophies of life that our contemporaries understand. The inadequacy of many of the interpretations that have been used in the past is that they are far too simple to account for life in the bewildering complexity that we are experiencing. Much talk about the "simple gospel" is simple talk. The need of our day is to be able to present a message of salvation matching the complexity of human need. For if our basic thesis of the integrative character of personality be true, there is no need that has not religious significance.

Whatever be the character of the need that is felt, it must be met on the level on which it is experienced. The need for food and for companionship are the two most fundamental biological needs. An early Christian saint, realizing the necessity of meeting such needs, wrote: "If some brother or sister has no clothes and not food enough for a day, and one of you says to them 'Good-bye, keep warm and have plenty to eat,' without giving them the necessaries of life, what good does it do?' (James 2: 15, 16). It is still difficult to talk to men about the grace of God if we do nothing for their empty stomachs. Disease, like hunger, is a biological need, but with incalculable spiritual implications. Defective

vision or hearing, diseased tonsils or teeth, shattered nerves, arthritis and the gout are all of them as deleterious to characters as to physical health. The fine service of medical missions is a genuinely Christian effort to bring salvation where it is immediately needed.

We had better be frank enough to recognize that some people suffer from incurable deficiencies, both physical and mental. Our gospel for such folks must include a provision for them to live as normal and healthful lives as their capacities will admit. But it should also include an effort to enable them to wrest some meaning and some worth from their suffering. As far as possible people should be saved from suffering, for suffering is basically evil. In cases where that is impossible, they should be saved in their suffering—at least, a character salvation.

Misunderstanding, ignorance, mental complexes, mental fatigue, inferior motives, subverted interests, such are some of the mental ills from which people need to be saved. There are no ills more persistently irritating than those of the mind. If a man is to love the Lord his God with all his mind, he will have to be delivered from troubles in that area of his life. To that end education, cultural facilities and psychiatry may each in its own way be a means of grace. For they are the means through which integrity can be infused in life or restored to life. In both physiological and psychological affairs, we ought to realize that many fundamental difficulties are functional and pathological. The word "patient" is a better word than "sinner" to describe people who suffer from such ailments. The gospel is a message of health for the sick and of integrity for the disordered. "They that be whole need not a physician," but they that be sick need one first and foremost.

The message of salvation is like a coin with both obverse and reverse sides. The one side is the restoration of personal integrity; the other is the social gospel. Either apart from the other is incomplete, for the very obvious reasons that persons are always found in social relations and that society is composed of individual persons. The old-time distinction between the sacred and the profane has relieved many people from any feeling of responsibility regarding the economic and political ills from which we suffer. A literal exegesis of the words "our citizenship is in heaven" has prevented a great many well-meaning, pious people from doing anything about enriching the experience of citizenship in present society. The obligation rests upon those who claim to be Christian to carry their idealism into the realism of business and politics, making them instruments for the enrichment of life. As organized at present, they are dominated by selfishness and materialistic motives, with human values receding far into the background. It is even truer today than when Emer-

son uttered it that " Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind." One of the needs that calls most clamantly for satisfaction today is salvation from these social ills that blight and destroy personality. We desperately need a society in which Christian people have a ghost of a chance to love their neighbors as themselves.

Professor Gilbert Murray described the collapse of Hellenistic culture which reached such heights in Plato and Aristotle as a " failure of nerve." Religious beliefs that are " scientifically preposterous " or " morally contemptible," as he shows, are in serious danger. There are still very blatant people who are acclaiming what they call the gospel with just such accoutrements. One of the great needs of this day is for a presentation of the message of salvation that will be characterized by moral sensitiveness and intellectual respectability. It is tragic comment on our Christianity that there can be so many college and university instructors who ridicule religion. Undoubtedly the fault is not all on the side of Christianity. But it constitutes a need for deep and enduring salvation.

Another failure that is a plague on our humanity is the inability of many to discover meaning or worth in life. They profess to be unable to discern anything other than a blind play of chance, mechanically determined in its operation. It seems to them to be, as Lowell said:

> " Right forever on the scaffold,
> Wrong forever on the throne,"

and all endeavors of ours are powerless to change that order. Efforts toward idealism, purposefulness, and humanitarianism never seem to get us anywhere. " Futility of futilities; all is futility," says the preacher of pessimism. No attitude could be more benumbing and paralyzing to useful effort than this. From such a devastating and pessimistic philosophy of life, Good Lord, deliver us.

The most poignant sense of need that any man can experience is that which grows out of his moral delinquencies. Human beings differ in their capacity for discrimination between what they ought to do and what they ought not to do. But all persons are conscious of a hiatus between knowledge and performance, and, for that matter, between capacity and performance. Theologians have called this the sense of sin, particularly where the right has been identified with the will of God. But sin has been made too blandly abstract. Nowadays few people are convicted of sin in the abstract. But they can feel wretchedly depressed to the point of repentance in regard to particularized, concrete sins, whether of the commission or the omission variety. This need is the more imperative today because scientific progress has outdistanced moral progress, and we have yet to

learn the humane uses of our scientific achievements. Science has furnished us with implements capable of destroying civilization unless our more humane motives take the controls, and harness them for human welfare which is yet possible. When moral conviction takes possession of a man, he feels the need to break with those lower centers of interest that have been in control, and to have releasd within him new motives and new strength for a life which he can morally approve. It has been the glory of the spirit of Jesus that it exerts such an influence upon human life so as to create just such a new center and release precisely such new strength and motives for the good life. Salvation thus involves a realignment of personality by the arousal of a genuine love for the way of living that Jesus exemplified. It inspires within us what Thomas Chalmers so aptly called "the expulsive power of a new affection."

II. The Christian Gospel

The Christian view of salvation is one that identifies the experience with life. That is true of Jesus himself. "His deepest equation for salvation is 'life.'" (Prof. T. B. Kilpatrick in E. R. E.) The concept grows richer as men and women grow in moral discernment. There is not a single area of life, individual or social, that does not need to be brought into harmony with Jesus' way of life. Life in its wholeness as well as life in its parts, life in its integrity as well as life in its different areas all need to be dominated by that love and devotion which we find in Him. As long as there are unreclaimed areas where selfishness reigns, we need to be saved. It is probably true of all of us that we are being saved in some respects, and have not realized our need in others. We are being saved from some hindrances to enriched living, and do not even want to be saved from some other things that appear to be pleasant. Salvation includes what Nietzsche called the "transvaluation of values." It is the experience of evaluating conduct, of appraising alternative ways of living, and choosing the more enriching way for ourselves, the standard of our judgment being the way of living which Jesus embodied. There is a mutual play of influence in such a process. The determination and effort to follow Jesus' way of life results in increasing sensitiveness to moral distinctions, while the growing capacity for moral discrimination leads to a heightened appraisal of Jesus' way of living.

The distinctive element in the Christian conception of salvation is the exaltation of Jesus as Saviour. Christianity has persisted in proclaiming that salvation has been experienced, is being experienced, and may be further experienced through Him. That is the heart of the Christian gospel. Theologians through the centuries have concerned themselves with

the theoretical interpretation of the experience. We are familiar with the theories, the thought-patterns for which were furnished by reasoning from analogy on the basis of political and economic relations. Such ideas as ransom, satisfaction of honor, substitution, forensic sacrifice, penal example, and even the New Testament concepts of redemption and reconciliation are all analogies borrowed from existing social usages to interpret the work of Jesus as Saviour of men.

Modern theology has abandoned the analogies of law and politics as totally inadequate to portray the saving work of Jesus. The break was made by Schleiermacher who conceived of Jesus' ministry as that of bringing into human life a loving and holy communion with God. He was himself completely God-conscious but at the same time he entered into a sympathetic understanding of human need. By loving influence he draws men into the same sort of filial fellowship with the Father. Sin is not an abnormality, but rather the lower stage of human development. The work of Jesus was not to rescue or ransom, but to elevate human nature. Ritschlianism, carrying on the same theological tradition, has taught that the work of Christ has been to reveal the love of God and his readiness to forgive.

We call Jesus the Saviour because he reveals to us the kind of life which God approves and blesses. In the sublimest of all human realms, the realm of spiritual values, Jesus is superb. He has bequeathed to us a life of moral earnestness, devotion to the highest, incomparable courage and supreme self-sacrifice that is grand in its simplicity. Greater than any of his teaching was the Master himself. His way of life is ours to share, if we will. That means sharing in his inner dispositions and attitudes, to be sure, rather than in any of the external circumstances that made up his life. If we are to share his experiences, we need to appreciate and foster within ourselves his filial trust in and love for God, his disposition to treat other men as brothers, and his determination to fight unflinchingly against every aspect of evil. Being saved to Jesus' way of living is something more than trying to imitate the details of his life in Palestine. It is the creative task of transplanting that way into our city streets and country lanes, of transplanting the spirit that he embodied into moral vigor and virility in our world and age.

Jesus has enabled us to see the capabilities of human nature at its best. He makes us feel that a life that is saved for the highest is normal for man. He gives us confidence in the possibility of human nature achieving life on a higher level of goodness and brotherhood than anything we have been able to accomplish in the past. He always walks ahead of us, inspiring us toward greater effort and devotion. We are happiest

when we are most faithful as his disciples, even though that involves suffering.

Christian theology has persistently associated the cross of Jesus with his work as Saviour. It is possible to think of it so literally and so mechanically as to reduce it to the level of a talisman. The cross for Jesus marked the culmination of a life of sacrificial and loving devotion. It is inseparable from his life. That cross is part of our Christian heritage. For us it is a symbol of selfless sacrifice and undying devotion. It is a symbol of his personal integrity and consecration to the kingdom of the Father. There is no salvation for any of us apart from all that the cross symbolizes. And there is none of us who can experience salvation in his own life without sharing in that which the cross symbolizes. Taking up the crosses which confront us as we dedicate our lives to the task of making Jesus' way of living supreme in ourselves and in our humanity is inescapable for us.

The cross is still our best symbol of victory over meanness and selfishness, over injustice and cupidity, over temptations and sins. Gethsemane and Calvary were inevitable because Jesus insisted on living a life of moral integrity and courage even in the midst of bitterly opposing forces. People are no more callous today than they have been in the past. They will respond to the saving influence of suffering love, as they have always done. This is still being substantiated in frontier places, on mission fields and in city slums. He is the exemplar of that life and our Saviour. We who choose to follow him must be channels of salvation for others. A Spanish writer has expressed it in a fine phrase: "A Christian is a person in whom Jesus finds a Bethlehem for his birth and a Calvary for his crucifixion."

On the basis of this attempted analysis of the things from which and the life to which we need to be saved, and of the significance of Jesus in the experience, may I suggest this definition? By salvation I mean the process of the enrichment of life in its integrity by satisfying its needs and mastering its hindrances so that fellowship with God is sustained. For the Christian Jesus is the example of a completely saved life, and the supreme impetus to our salvation.

EAST MEETS WEST

A. STEWART WOODBURNE

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat."

A GENERATION ago many people thought that when Rudyard Kipling wrote his ballad of the East and West, it was an *ex cathedra* utterance. There was an unbridgable gap between the Orient and the Occident, and the first thing to do was recognize it as fundamental to any discussion of their contacts. Indeed the contacts between the peoples of the two hemispheres must ever remain superficial, for neither culture will ever penetrate the other very far.

This assumption reposed on most insecure grounds. One, of course, was the perfectly naive notion that the West formed one cultural unit, and the East another. Nowadays one needs but to state the idea for its absurdity to be patent. There was a time when insularity was believed to be a possibility, and some nations aimed to protect their own indigenous cultures by prohibiting all foreign relations. The Japan of the mid-nineteenth century is a case in point.

Perhaps the most insidious argument is the racial purity contention. It is especially interesting today since such a nation as modern Germany has reverted to it. The Orient is quite familiar with the idea, and in recent years it has been one of the bases for nationalistic propaganda. Yet ethnologically a more specious postulate could scarcely be proposed. Take India, for example. The caste system is a standing testimony to the heterogeneity of her population. And the march of time discloses steadily decreasing purity. In Vedic times four castes were recognized. In the latest census enumerated there were more than twenty-four hundred. The Philippine Islands are another example. Despite the spirit of nationalism and progressive Filipinization in state, school, and church, the fact remains that racially pure Filipinos are probably in the minority even among those who are not classified as *mestizos*.

In this age of rapid transportation there can scarcely be said to be eastern and western hemispheres. Two months ago, I stood by the beach just out of Manila and watched the China Clipper glide into her mooring dock, five short days from the time she had left California. Beginning next month (March) the Anglo-Indian mails will all be carried by airplanes, the service will be tri-weekly, and England will be only three and one-half flying days from India. The time is upon us when we shall

have to think of the Japanese and Chinese as well as the Canadians and Mexicans as our neighbors.

Almost every conceivable attitude is being taken by different groups of people with reference to these intercultural contacts. A few still hold out for the preservation of their older culture, and resistance toward foreign intrusion. The making of khaddar (home-spun cotton) has been greatly extended since we left India in 1930, yet one does not find the movement today calling so much for bonfires of foreign cloth. People everywhere are learning that the development of home industries does not necessarily involve hostility toward foreign products. Whatever is being done to preserve and further to develop indigenous arts and crafts is all to the good. The study of the literary and religious heritages of peoples is important both historically and ethically.

A second attitude, and one that is exceedingly popular, is that of borrowing. Cultural contacts make it apparent that other cultures have achieved values that might be adopted to advantage. The forms which such values embody are greatly diversified. Some are institutional; others are more personal. Some are scientific; others are æsthetic. Some are technological; others are within the area of the ideal. The criterion of worth is not formal, however. It is to be found in the contribution that is made to human welfare. The country of origin of any achievement is only accidental, and no people should try to monopolize its values. Why should not any community be advantaged of the achievements of others, if it meets the conditions involved?

This borrowing proceeds in two directions. The West has borrowed much more from the East than it sometimes cares to admit. We have taken many things all the way from carpets to religion from the Orient. It is cause for reflection that every one of the world's great religions was born and cradled in the East. Nowadays the East is much more interested in what the West can contribute through technology and practical science. When I first began to teach in the Madras Christian College the popular branch in the B. A. course was history. For a short time after that philosophy gained the ascendency. But for many years now the majority of students elect to major in one of the sciences or science combinations. The countries of the East have no doubt that the major contribution of Western education is through the medium of the sciences. Hundreds of students from Oriental lands go every year to America and Europe for advanced work, and the great majority of them work in some scientific field. All of which confirms the observation that this is the area in which the East does most of its borrowing from the West.

There is no guarantee that such borrowing will always display moral

discrimination. If people would only weigh the moral values and disvalues of human achievements before proceeding to adopt them, much suffering could be avoided. The most glaring illustration of such foolish lack of moral discrimination is Japan's military regimentation. One still finds great delight in mingling with Japanese people, and enjoying their delicate artistic accomplishments. How utterly incongruous with all that is the domineering of their military group! In the end no one will suffer nearly so much as the Japanese people themselves from the policy of making every aspect of life subservient to imperial aggrandizement. It is going to be a tremendous temptation to the Chinese to develop in precisely the same way, in the first instance for protection, and later just out of force of habit.

There is a third attitude growing out of racial contacts that one detects in certain groups. It is the tendency to minimize the values of one's own culture, repudiate traditional authorities, and look elsewhere for the satisfaction of life's needs. The advantages of the West along technological lines have swept some Orientals from their moorings so that they have idealized the West beyond the power of a Westerner himself to recognize. I recall thirty years ago hearing an uneducated Indian preacher berating his neighbors regarding God's displeasure with them, and pointing west as the promised land. The climax was reached when he said, "Do you think Christ would be born in a sinful country, like this? No; Christ was born in England."

It is not often that this attitude has taken such a fantastic form. But it has resulted quite frequently in a breakdown of old authorities. This, we know only too well, is a world-wide mood, following in the wake of the Great War. Probably it is the swing of the pendulum from rigid discipline to the refusal to be disciplined. There has gone with it the tendency to criticize traditions unintelligently. It is necessary to guard against the temptation to throw out the jewels with the chaff. The salvation of India or Japan is not in being Westernized, any more than is that of America or Germany in adopting Eastern ways.

The growth of a nationalistic consciousness in Eastern lands has proved to be an effective check to the exaggerated tendency to discard home culture for something foreign. It is not good form and certainly very poor policy nowadays for an Oriental to show too much devotion to things Western. Since the Congress (nationalist) party has come to dominate the Indian political scene, there have been some wonderful transformations of attitude in that direction. This is true all throughout the Orient today.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to interject a remark about

the danger of over-generalization. While this paper is dealing largely with movements and therefore generalities, the writer is continually conscious of exceptions that seem to disprove his contention at the moment. Let no one imagine that he is inclined to speak with finality. No man living could do that.

How does religion fare in this world with its varied cross-fertilizations of cultures? Again, one must generalize with fear and trepidation. One observation can be made without much hesitation. There is a finer atmosphere of friendliness and understanding than prevailed, say two decades ago. I have found a very cordial attitude among representatives of different faiths in India and the Philippines, and certainly all the reports from China emphasize an improvement in the temper there. This means the possibility of dispassionate discussion, and a readiness to recognize the operations of the spirit of God in all movements of spiritual uplift.

Whatever be one's personal convictions, it does not do to display a superiority attitude toward those of other faiths. The fact is some Buddhists and Hindus are equally sure of the superior character of their faiths. While here in India, I read a book on Vedic Religion and Philosophy by a Hindu missionary residing in Hollywood, and he writes with evident pleasure regarding the superiority of his particular type of Hinduism. Incidentally, Hollywood ought to be a good place for missionary work. An Irish poet whom I used to know in Madras has recently embraced Hinduism. Another book I have been reading is by a European woman who has become a Buddhist. So conversions happen in both directions.

Christian missionary work in Oriental countries continues to be prosecuted, despite great reductions in income in the last decade. It is quite amazing to see how well the work has been conserved despite diminishing resources. The indigenous churches have in some cases displayed a spirit of heroic devotion in meeting the emergency. They are ready and anxious to assume greater responsibilities. Everywhere one is impressed with the fact that the day of the mission is setting, and the day of the national church is rising. What is going to happen when the process is further along?

A sense of gratitude seeks for expression when one visits some of the magnificent institutions which Western missions have planted in Eastern lands. It was not my privilege to visit the University of Shanghai, which every one acknowledges is a great plant. The new buildings of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram, ten miles out of the city, the place where the International Missionary Council will meet next December, were to me an especial joy, since I had a vital part in the planning

of the new college. The American College here in Madura is another great institution. There are splendid hospitals, too, that carry the best of Western medical and surgical sciences to people who otherwise would have to bear their sufferings unrelieved. The Mission Hospital at Iloilo in the Philippines, and the two hospitals for men and women here in Madura are institutions of which any city might well be proud.

One question refuses to be downed. When foreign subsidies are withdrawn and foreign directors are no longer forthcoming, what is to become of these great institutions? I know perfectly well that in many instances that date is in the distant future. Yet the approach of that time proceeded apace during the eight years I was away from India, and with reference to some institutions seems a great deal nearer than it did then. Is there a danger of hanging millstones about the necks of the younger churches in our efforts to give them our best? I hope that danger can be avoided. I am by no means prepared to answer the question, but I cannot avoid asking it.

The most heartening aspect of missionary work, after all, is not the great institutions that we have established, not even the churches. It is rather the personalities who have been exposed to new light and beauty, under the influence of which they have been enriched and transformed. Today the younger churches are giving the Christian world some of its noblest spirits. Who knows but that the future may witness great Christian movements with the leadership coming from the East? The truth is that when one meets an outstanding Christian personality, questions of race, color, or habitat do not even arise. If Kipling spoke from inspiration, it must have been rather when he added that other verse:

> "But there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth
> When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!"

REBUILDING THE THEOLOGICAL CURRICULUM

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

General dissatisfaction with the inherited theological curriculum exists in every type of Protestant theological seminary in the United States. Experimentation to improve it is almost continuous. But this nibbling does not yield desired results, suggesting that the time has arrived when tinkering must be abandoned and fundamental revision undertaken.

Broadly viewed, four principal types of Protestant theological seminary are discernible. There is first of all the splendid and genuine graduate divinity school devoted to exact scholarship and original research. It is engaged in thoroughgoing study of the documents of the Old Testament and the New Testament, in discovering the true course of Christian history, the rise and development of the theology, worship and organization of the church, and in a scientific investigation of the problems of the contemporary church. That the entire United States can boast only a few institutions of this sort is our shame. For without this relentless pursuit of Christian culture, Christianity would soon lose in educational standing and respect. The objectives of these schools are well defined. They need neither apology nor praise. They speak for themselves. Their product becomes the religious teachers of the future.

A second type of theological training is given in the large and rapidly increasing number of fundamentalist Bible schools. They also have well-defined objectives and a fixed, static, authoritarian curriculum. Their product ministers to the millions of Protestants untouched or scarcely touched by the implications of modern culture. They have little to fear from religious liberalism as such. Their increasing menace is the gradual rise in the American cultural level and the even more biblical cults and sects. Their losses here are very considerable. A fundamentalist is no match for a cultist.

A third type of American theological seminary is the avowedly denominational school whose purpose is to train men for a distinctively denominational ministry. Here elements of the modern culture have already been integrated with the tradition of the particular Protestant trend; religious bewilderment is less and a degree of confidence exists.

This study is not concerned with any of these types of theological school. It has in mind only such divinity schools as define their specific function to be the training of men and women for efficient Christian service in the modern environment. Here a readjustment of the curriculum to the modern environment is imperative.

Because the New Testament still forms the center of gravity in even this type of theological seminary, any fundamental study of the curriculum must begin here and center here. For the principal revision of courses and readjustment to the remainder of the curriculum must be undertaken at this point. The reconstruction of the courses in church history and in the interpretation and application of the Christian message will then follow in rather natural fashion.

It was the introduction of historical method into New Testament study about a century ago that gradually transformed the quest and the results of New Testament investigation. Before that the New Testament scholar thought he was dealing with static, absolute, authoritarian truth. Now every historical student of the New Testament is concerned with historical, conditioned, relative facts and ideas. He searches for their origin *in situ*. The paradox therefore is that the longer a student studies the New Testament historically the more exact data he gets on first century Christianity and the less competent he becomes in Christian work of today, unless at the same time by work in history, philosophy, psychology, ethics and so on he learns how to revaluate his first century materials, for all that body of first century knowledge otherwise has only archæological significance. Knowledge of the original meanings of the New Testament terminology, ideas, and ideology turns him into an historian of a slight area of the ancient world, and that is all.

But since some of these original meanings died at birth, others were modified or completely transformed in the course of the nineteen centuries that lie between that day and this, all this intensive and meticulous research has put him way out on a very high limb. The problem is how to get our neophyte, highly trained in first century materials, back to earth without subjecting him to permanent fracture in intellect, purpose and emotion.

It is trite to observe that the world of the twentieth century and the world of the first are incommensurable. The Christian ideology of the first century and that of the twentieth are also not identical. Hence when the young minister highly trained in the original meanings of the New Testament seeks to speak to the twentieth century Christian in direct historical terms, he cannot be understood by his average listener but appears instead to be heretical, and the conflict with fundamentalism is on. To put it another way, the culture of the twentieth century fundamentalist permits him directly to *transvaluate* first century ideas. The historically trained minister on the other hand must proceed by the roundabout way of *revaluation*. Therefore the fundamentalist preacher seems to be expounding the New Testament as written, and the people like to

hear him. That he is not doing so is not at all present to the minds in his audience.

The other courses of the curriculum have always saved the young minister from the full consequences of his historicism. Indirectly they have through three years helped him surreptitiously and haphazardly to make partial connections between the twentieth century and the first. This constructive work must be expanded and made more scientific. If the twentieth century historical study of the New Testament is to have any value to the minister, it must be reorganized, supplemented and implemented in such a way as to become imbedded once more in the life of today.

Ultimately, the entire theological curriculum must be reconstructed and revitalized to meet the urgent religious and ethical needs of contemporary life. For the objective of theological education is the understanding and the development of the Christian way of life. Beginning with a scientific knowledge of the main trends in modern life and attempting to interpret them, the student would early discover that there are values in the Christian tradition which he cannot afford to ignore because they still condition the present and will condition the future.

When all these elements are entered in the contemporary religious equation, the three principal divisions of the contemporary theological curriculum emerge, namely, Christian Development, or the promotion of a present and future Christian way of life; Christian Progress, or the story of the Christian way of life in the past and present; Christian Interpretation, or the understanding of the Christian way of life, past and present.

The fundamental aspects of Christian Development demand courses dealing with the understanding of the contemporary environment, the divided state of the church, Religious Education, the socio-psychological revaluation of the Bible, worship, pastoral case work, preaching, and church administration and methods. These studies would be supplemented by courses in the history and interpretation of the church and its tradition.

I

The New Testament Section of the Theological Curriculum and an Efficient Ministry

One sultry Sunday morning last summer we participated in worship at a well-known church. One of its ministers announced that at the midweek prayer-meeting chapters 11 to 13 of the Gospel of John would

be studied. The phraseology of his statement ran contrary to the findings of historical scholarship. Moreover the treatment of the chapters in the meeting on the following Wednesday indicated complete lack of information regarding authorship, analysis, and interpretation of the Gospel of John as far as historical approach is concerned. Yet ten years ago this minister had taken all the courses in New Testament offered in a progressive theological seminary under the direction of a brilliant specialist. He had heard every critical question involving the books of the New Testament from Matthew to Revelation discussed in detail. He could not possibly have forgotten all he had been taught. Had he found it impracticable?

A few months ago alumni and seniors of another theological seminary were having a get-together. In the course of the symposium, a graduate of three years' standing remarked: "I suppose the New Testament courses are as popular as ever. I took them all, prescribed and prescribed-elective alike, and how I enjoyed them. I thought the professor of New Testament about as good as there was. But on getting out into the pastorate I soon found that I could not put that point of view across. You will too. So I am leaning probably too heavily upon ministers' manuals, homiletical magazines and, would you believe it, fundamentalist Sunday school lesson sheets." Whereat the Seniors were amazed.

At a national denominational gathering several years ago, alumni of a divinity school were having lunch together and exchanging notes. Said one, "Do you remember that day in chapel when Prexy took as his point of departure that question of John the Baptizer addressed to Jesus—'Art thou he that cometh or look we for another'—and told us what to do with our doubts? Remember how outraged our historical sense was, how we got together and lamented the ignorance of Prexy and wondered how long such traditional interpretations would be offered the suffering laity entitled to the true interpretation? Have I a confession to make! I really ought to write to Prexy and beg his pardon! Listen, only last Sunday I preached on the same text and said just what Prexy did that day." "Get this," spoke up another, "the most amusing experiences I have had since leaving Alma Mater have been to hear practically every member of the old faculty preach and I could not discover that they were interested in original meanings. Their preaching was practical and to the point. We were told in the critical courses that we were getting only laboratory data. I think those laboratory periods were a bit too long." A rather quiet Alumnus now interrupted with, "I get your points but, fellows, we can't escape

from this modern religious dilemma by riding its softer horn. If we do, ten years hence we shall be down and out. My boys and girls are asking me questions that did not exist for me even in the seminary. We must learn how to hold the mature and aging, to be sure, but we must also do something about our youth before it is too late. I have found the things taught me about the New Testament helpful and so have you. That is not my point. But how I wish I had been told and made to feel that having taken the first step in a new direction by studying its contents historically, I had to take some more. What do I mean? *This, that I was given first meanings. But those first meanings are gone for many of my members and to recapture anything of value for my people I must bridge the gap between that first century thinking and our thinking today.* What would I not give to return to the old school and take some of those despised courses which might have given me what I so sorely need now." A number of loud "amens" and then they went into the auditorium to listen to the convention sermon.

Some time ago the president of a school for the training of ministers reported to his faculty that a committee of the entering Junior class had approached him with a request that an extra-curriculum course in the New Testament be offered that it might obtain a working knowledge of the contents of the New Testament!

The main contention thus far has been that the progressive theological school of today through its courses upon the New Testament introduces its students to an historical conception of the New Testament. But this interpretation of the New Testament is in conflict with the traditional Christian mood toward and understanding of the New Testament and is still *terra incognita* to the bulk of the membership in most of the Protestant denominations in America. Because the minister soon discovers the true situation, his earlier enthusiasm for historical study gradually evaporates and he attempts to escape from his predicament by neglecting or abandoning his student point of view, at the most using the verses of the New Testament only as points of departure and permitting his constituency to remain in blissful ignorance of revaluations that might have for them the "expulsive power of a new affection." Gradually the youth of the churches under the influence of the modern environment finds it impossible to harmonize its extra-church convictions with what it hears in Sunday school and church and drifts away from Christian moorings until the restless and discouraged churches of today result.

Can the study of the New Testament in our progressive seminaries be so revised as to enable ministers again to employ it with joy and

enthusiasm, to awaken the interest of the most modern man and the most fundamentalistically inclined woman in their membership? The answer is "it can," and the following discussion calls attention to some of the elements in the solution of the problem.

A. The Centrality of the New Testament in the Contemporary Theological Curriculum

What we call the Old Testament was the first Bible of the Christian church. More than a century after the origin of the church a selection of gospels and Pauline correspondence was added to it. But the Old Testament for some time was regarded as more authoritative than the writings which became the New Testament. Gradually the New Testament came to enjoy equality of authority with the Old Testament, superseded it in authority, and finally, logically considered, should have become the only Bible of the Christian church. Catholicism added the authority of the living Christian tradition. Protestantism pruned away the accumulated medieval Catholic tradition, returned to the New Testament, and greatly magnified the theory of inspiration and awakened abiding interest in the authoritative text of the Bible. In spite of the employment of historical method during the last century, the theological curriculum is still built around the New Testament centre.

Because the Protestant theological tradition has been Bible-centered and lets the New Testament constitute the archives of Christianity, the student for the ministry feels that he must specialize in the New Testament. The questions he must face when he applies for ordination will have to do with the New Testament in the main. His texts will be chosen from it. Religious education heads up in it. He is interested in the Old Testament only as a Christian book. Hence he takes all the courses offered in the New Testament. This one book he must know. It is his source book.

The remainder of the theological curriculum is for many students more or less of a burden imposed upon them by the inscrutable wisdom of the faculty. Their advance judgment upon Church History is "dry as dust"; upon theology, "the medieval hang-over"; upon the history of his denomination, "sectarianism"; upon homiletics and religious education, "kindergarten methods and materials." There can therefore be no initial competition worth mentioning between the New Testament and other sections of the curriculum. Before long these postulates brought from home break down, but never to a sufficient extent wholly to overcome the bread and butter significance of the New Testament courses.

So they bring their New Testaments to class and let the professor tell them who's who and what's what. If the New Testament electives are not already prescribed *de facto* by the set-up of the New Testament prescribed courses in such a way as to make the New Testament electives essential to a knowledge of its contents, the student's interest, fears and hopes will make them so.

Hence the student in a theological seminary often fails to take the courses in philosophy, psychology, not to say history and ethics and theology which are specially designed to provide that knowledge of the modern environment without which his ministry must prove a failure. To protect the student against the risks of unbalanced and unwise specialization, a number of divinity schools have recently returned to a considerable expansion of required courses. For whether the theological student realizes it or not, philosophy, psychology, pastoral care, ethics, religious education, homiletics, liturgics, church administration, art, music and so forth are not side issues. Actually it is this type of course that makes it possible for him to be a minister in the modern world at all.

B. Concerning the Contemporary Arrangement of New Testament Courses

If one compares the New Testament courses of today in the average divinity school catalogue with those of a quarter of a century ago, he notices new titles and a greater number, but a considerable degree of sameness. As a rule the New Testament offerings of 1938 may still be classified as "background" courses, courses in introduction and content courses (exegetical or topical). The purpose of the courses seems to be to acquaint the student with the original meaning of the words, sentences, paragraphs, sections and books of the New Testament. Little concern over bridging the chasm between the first century and the twentieth is in evidence. For many a professor of the New Testament the problem does not even yet exist. Moreover, very often, the New Testament courses do not seem to be articulated with the remainder of the curriculum. They exist by, of, and apparently for themselves. They have never been compelled to struggle for a place in the curriculum. In splendid isolation they are there by tradition and perhaps will always be there. Search through the remainder of the curriculum only rarely results in the discovery of a course in religious education or homiletics that challenges the right of the New Testament department to give all the courses in that area. Curricula have been revised and revised. Other departments have long since been broken down and

rebuilt into something like a unity. As a matter of fact, each section of the curriculum is actually concerned with the New Testament in very vital ways. Really the New Testament comes up for treatment in almost every course given in the modern theological seminary, but the arrangement of the curriculum hides all this from the student's eyes. Although a good one-half of the three years of the seminary course is directly or indirectly bestowed upon the New Testament, the curriculum conceals this true situation. And a student may be graduated from a theological seminary without having read the New Testament.

At the end of his Junior year in the theological seminary, the student takes stock. He is to preach that summer in a rural community. Fortunately for him, he has had considerable doses of Old Testament, social ethics, homiletics, psychology of religion, religious education, history of Christianity—else his plight would be tragic.

But as far as the New Testament is concerned, he has learned about Alexander the Great, the Maccabees, Tobit, Stoicism, Epicureanism, Neo-Platonism, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the ancient mystery cults and such like during the year. He is still looking forward to direct confrontation with the New Testament. Accompany him into the library as he hurriedly gets further materials to aid him in his summer work and you find him not in the New Testament but in the practical Christianity stacks.

At the end of his Middle Year, the theological student again takes stock. He is to preach in a city church this summer. He has now had solid courses in theology, philosophy, worship, homiletics, church administration, pastoral case work, history and so on and is very confident that he can master any emergencies that may arise.

But again as far as the New Testament as such is concerned, he knows about the synoptic problem, all the issues involved in introduction to the Pauline epistles, something about the Johannine problem, the variations in the text of the New Testament, and such like external things. He has not yet come to grips with the message of the New Testament. That is still of the future. Again, the other courses of the curriculum save him from ignominious defeat. He forgets to write a letter thanking the professor of psychology or the professor of theology because he does not take time to analyze what has happened.

Another year has passed. The promising Senior has finished the course and received his first degree in divinity. He has taken all the Electives in New Testament. The fine course in synthesis is in his trunk. That he will preach. He feels superior to other ministers because he has the latest and the best, *utterly unaware of the fact that all he has is*

the first meanings of the passages in the New Testament which disappeared with the first generation and have been revised and even transformed during the history of Christianity.

The young minister may be a bit dogmatic too without being conscious of the fact. His fundamentalist friend has accepted the conclusions of his Bible school professor as final authority and is preaching them. He, on the other hand, has accepted the formulations of his New Testament professor and expects to preach them. He bases his conclusions upon source-material but so does the neighboring fundamentalist minister. A little later he will discover that all of his work has been based upon secondary sources. For the most part he has accepted upon faith what the professors taught. The developmentalist's son of ten says, "The earth and everything in it evolved." The fundamentalist's son of ten says, "God created the earth in six days of twenty-four hours each." Each is an authoritarian for he so believes upon the say-so of papa. The fundamentalist seems to differ from the extreme radical only in regard to the tree to which he is snubbing himself. The true liberal on discovering that he is snubbing himself begins to unwind before it is too late.

C. Early Experiences in the Pastorate

After preaching a few sermons to his congregation and calling upon its members in their homes, the young minister, having been told over and over again that the efficient minister makes a scientific survey of his particular field and the special needs of his parish, does so. He is amazed to discover the wide and deep canyon between their knowledge of the New Testament and his. Indeed, he has been noticing that the "first meaning" of the New Testament passages is only in his notes, not in his mind. He finds it so difficult to recall just what the professor said. Even his notes fail him at times. But as for these people, they do not at all understand. They have so many personal problems, bread, rent, payment of doctors' bills, broken homes. They need help. The "original" meanings of the New Testament do not seem to matter to them. Not one in his community has the time to engage in the historical study of the Bible. They use fundamentalist leaflets in the Sunday school. They know ten hymns. And he himself has not the time or ambition to burn the midnight oil necessary to keep up with historical scholarship. Ere long the great surrender is made, and he neglects the "first meanings" of New Testament texts as not pertinent in his situation. His New Testament courses are not helping him solve the real

problems of his pastorate. And sermons that dwell upon *original meaning* are just so much water upon a duck's back.

In the interest of brevity, we examine only a few areas where his New Testament courses failed to help him.

The ideas of the American religious cults have permeated the thought of American Christians. In every church, small or large, rural or city, the cult's interpretation of the Bible is encountered. Orthodox members of fundamentalist churches may at heart be Spiritualists, Swedenborgians, Christian Scientists, New Thoughtists. The young minister unaware during seminary days of what he must encounter in his first pastorate, passed up the course on the cults. In his perplexity he turns to cheap refutation of the convictions of the cultists, thus advertising the particular cult criticized and soon observing a greater drift on the part of his membership toward the cults.

The cult is always orthodox. It "believes" the Bible *but it must be the whole Bible* from Genesis to Revelation. Whereas so-called orthodox Christianity has only an Old Testament and a New Testament, the cult has in addition a *novissimum testamentum* as the "Book of Mormon," "Science and Health," the "Precepts of Mother Ann Lee," the revelations of Ellen White, the oracles of the mediums.

The fundamentalist is no match for the cultist. The cults quote Scripture, and how! Thus, Nahum 2:3-7 and Job 40:15ff. predict the locomotive, and Job 38:35, the radio. After a cultist has quoted Psalms 6:5; 115:17; 104:29; 146:4; 49:12 and Ecclesiastes 9:5, 6, 10 to you and affirms his faith in annihilation to you *upon the basis of the Bible,* what is your reply? His reply to your reply is: "It is in the Bible." The orthodox Christian believes in the visible coming of Christ; any member of "Jehovah's Witnesses" trips him with Matthew 24:31, "And he shall send his messengers with a great trumpet." But since the trumpet according to this text is not sounded Christ appeared without any noise and invisibly decades ago. An entire volume has been penned to show that Isaiah 19:19f. is concerned with the great pyramid.

You may not think that Proverbs 3:16 and Job 37:7 guarantee palmistry, but how will you convince that troubled parishioner that you are right? She has had a good reading and is happy, or a bad reading and is in brown study.

Have you ever tried to demolish the Spiritualist's demonstration that his scheme is in the Bible and that Jesus was a medium? He has an abundance of biblical "proof texts."

When in the beautiful Temple Square containing the Mormon

Temple and Tabernacle, walk over to the monument in honor of the Three Witnesses to the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Read the inscription on the shaft quoting Revelation 14:6f. to prove that Mormonism has the predicted everlasting gospel. Follow a guide around the walks as she pauses to explain immersion as a sacrament of regeneration because of John 3:5, the necessity of baptism for the dead because of 1 Corinthians 15:29, the post-death chance for repentance because of 1 Peter 3:19ff., the marriage relationship as persisting beyond death because of Mark 12:24ff. and the scripturalness of the Mormon ecclesiastical organization because of Mark 9:2ff., 3:14ff., 6:7ff., and Luke 10:1ff.

No knowledge of the original meanings of the New Testament will help a minister much in the presence of a parishioner who "believes" the King James version is verbally inspired because Shakespeare's name appears in the forty-sixth psalm in the forty-sixth word from the beginning and the forty-sixth word from the end, and because the Authorized version appeared when the great dramatist was forty-six years old.

Or suppose a Protestant preacher meets a Mohammedan some day who insists that Jesus announced the coming of Mohammed and quotes from the Koran, "Jesus, the Son of Mary, said, 'I am God's apostle to confirm the law and to announce *an Apostle that shall come after me whose name shall be Ahmad* (Mohammed).'" Just how will a knowledge of first meanings of the New Testament help him explain how Mohammed could turn *parakletos* of John 16:7 into Ahmad?

The great Eastern religions are trying to convert Christians to Buddhism in these United States and in their books and magazines they have something to say about the favorite New Testament passages of devout Christians. Can any amount of study of the first meanings of the New Testament help the perplexed minister?

Which professor of New Testament will admit that it is a part of his task to deal with the New Testament as literature or with the judgment of men beyond the Christian communion upon it?

The significance of the New Testament extends far beyond the areas dealt with in the search for original meaning. Its formation was indeed the most creative undertaking of the early Catholic church. To become only meagerly acquainted with its values the student needs beyond critical method and exegesis, a knowledge of its influence upon Occidental and Oriental culture. And the seminary curriculum by a new arrangement of its New Testament courses and additional courses upon the New Testament should make its graduates enthusiastic over their archives. The existing organization of the New Testament section of the

theological curriculum can no longer be defended and the contents of courses upon the New Testament need drastic reconstruction.

D. The Remoteness of the New Testament Curriculum from Modern Life and Its Consequences

The primary axiom of the historical study of the New Testament has been that no passage of the New Testament can be understood unless it is studied *in situ*. To arrive at the first meaning of a statement its context must be appreciated. Thus we are at last becoming able to state definitely what the faith of Jesus was, what the Jerusalem church thought, when the death of Jesus began to be associated with salvation, how Jesus became an object of worship, why and when faith in a virgin birth originated, how the last meal and earlier meals of Jesus with his disciples were transformed into the eucharist, how Paul differed from both Jesus and John. All the recent, almost marvelous, reconstructions of the faith of the primitive church have developed out of this insistence upon relativity.

The most serious criticism against the New Testament curriculum of the theological seminary preparing men for the Christian ministry of today is that *all these original meanings are left hanging high in the ancient world instead of being related to the life of today.* Christian worshipers when treated to a discourse upon original meanings hang their heads in shame or in bewilderment. Those first meanings mean next to nothing in their experience.

There is such a thing as history. Eighteen centuries lie between original meaning and modern meaning of a New Testament verse. Have we helped a young minister as much as we think when we have sold him a volume of original meanings? If second century Christians no longer understood first century Christian statements, how can we expect the miracle to occur today? New Testament study is vital for the Christian life of today only when connection is made between that life and the earliest Christian life.

Moreover, the Christian of yesterday read his New Testament differently from the Christian of today. The problem is twofold, not only historical but also psychological.

Religious truth was authoritarian, absolute, the same yesterday, today and forever. It is becoming relative and developmental. The Christian of yesterday read his experiences back into the New Testament. He identified his experiences with those of the writers of the New Testament. He agreed with the apostles. Discrepancies, divergencies, anach-

ronisms, contradictions did not exist for him. He had no feeling of dishonesty when he "transvaluated" the New Testament passages. Neither does the genuine fundamentalist of today. His cultural level permits him to identify the modern world view with the ancient world view without any compunctions of conscience. If difficulty arises, he is able to believe in a flat earth against all the scientists and in a man created immediately out of mud against all the evolutionists.

But the university trained Christian of today lives in a different world from his grandfather. The former things have indeed passed away. All things have become new. He is aware of the existing anachronisms. He cannot employ literalism or allegorization to escape from his dilemma. If the statements in the Bible cannot be integrated with his present view of things, they fade away from his experience and no longer challenge his thought. Thus all the hard work upon the New Testament goes to waste.

The man on the sidelines would think that the professors of New Testament in seminaries preparing men for the Christian ministry in the modern world would long ago have become conscious of this difficulty. Approaching the New Testament in a developmental way, and insisting over and over again that nothing can be understood apart from its context, and aware of the fact that the first meaning of a New Testament paragraph was soon modified if not transformed by the church, and living in this power age, they should long since have insisted upon the introduction of courses into the theological curriculum with the function of revaluating their scholarly findings for the life of today. In sheer self-defense the professors of New Testament should, decades ago, have demanded courses that would convert their findings into current values.

This twentieth century is different from that first century. Religion neither originates nor continues long apart from life. Ideals fashion institutions to continue them. The institution, because part of a changing environment, modifies and finally destroys the original ideal because the environment has undergone change. Truth to be vital must be rooted in life. If a verse of the New Testament cannot be understood apart from its context, how can its original sense survive in the new and contradictory context of modern life? Religion is not a series of abstractions. Christianity is not a sum of original meanings understood only by the historical scholars and out of tune with modern life. Jesus' utterances and Paul's ideas become archæological specimens if they cannot be related to the context of modern life. Bewildered modern man does not derive much religious nourishment from a discussion of

the Christology of the fourth century. If worshipers were not compelled to listen to so many irrelevant religious platitudes, a revival of ethical Christianity might actually result.

My father needed certain inspirations for his life. He opened his Bible and found them there. In a perfectly honest and, to him, satisfying way he identified his needs and ideas with those of the inspired Book. He held his church to a literal fulfilment of Matthew 18:15-20. He lived a life of great usefulness, cheerfulness, contentedness and made hundreds of people happy through his sermons upon the Bible.

His son also has deep religious needs. But he cannot settle his problems by just consulting the Bible. Why not? Something has happened to him in this modern world, and the faith of his parents and their faithful instruction in the tenets of German Baptists could not prevent the search for another trail to God. Often he has tried to retrace his steps and walk along the old path of his father's faith. Alas! he has not succeeded.

Paul rubbed out Israel's actual connection with its own past and appropriated that history for Christianity. This is easily the most colossal appropriation in the history of humanity. What had been Jewish history was by the use of a bit of ancient ink made over into Christian history. It was rather violent procedure thus to antedate Christian history by centuries and centuries. Christian history became fictitious when it was made to include everything between Abraham and Jesus. The church actually originated after the death of Jesus but in this ideology the church began with Abraham. Soon its origin was pushed back to the creation of the world. Paul boldly blotted out Israel's past but nevertheless believed that any Jew embracing Christianity would have certain advantages over the Gentile Christian.

Christianity compelled the various nations it evangelized either to abandon their history or reconstruct it and subordinate it to the Christian point of view. Thus the history of Christianity was annexed by one people after the other during the medieval period.

It was Augustine who took the decisive step when in his *De Civitate Dei* he reconstructed the history of the world from the point of view of the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God was now traced back to Abel, continued in Israel, preserved by the church. *History ceased to have to do with peoples and nations and became a history of ideas.* It ceased to be factual and became mythological. The history of Israel did not concern Israel which had fashioned that history but an institution, the Christian church, which had nothing to do with it.

This devastating dogmatic philosophy of history, then, was adopted

by the various peoples of Europe which embraced the Christian faith. And this scheme of history was accepted by the Protestant denominations when they originated in the sixteenth century. Hence the Baptists because they believed in immersion regarded themselves as beginning with John the Baptizer who practiced immersion in Jordan about A. D. 28. Medieval culture was the Christian epic. God enthroned high above the world governs that world through the church. The church and humanity date from the creation of the world. Then they were Israel. Israel was replaced by or became the church. Pagan nations evangelized by the medieval church abandoned their own mythology for a new one offered by the church, namely, a mythologized Israel. Israel an actual people in primitive times was now a mythical people from whom Christian Europe derived its spiritual blessings.

And this Christian philosophy of history did not begin to disintegrate until the seventeenth century and reigns supreme in many Christian circles even today. But anyone who knows what Paul and Augustine did and how and why they did it must reject the first meaning of Romans 9-11. The fundamentalist can transvaluate Romans 9-11, whereas the developmentalist must go on to revaluation. He must first ascertain what the original context of that passage was. Thereupon he must attempt to recover its original significance. Then he must trace the story of its interpretation in the Western world. Finally, all this must be confronted with his view of history. If possible relationship is discovered, it is integrated with it; if not, the theory of Paul will be cast aside as untenable.

If a theological school introduces its students to historical method, it is in honor bound to take the next steps and revaluate those findings for the Christian way of life in the twentieth century. No law school stops with the first meaning of the Constitution of the United States. That document covers a few pages. The decisions of the lower courts and of the Supreme Court of the United States fill volumes. A medical school which stopped with the conclusions of Galen would be closed by governmental interference. In modern clinics they do not use the saws of Revolutionary war surgeons. They put them in museums. What the New Testament first was, the professor of New Testament can say. What it has become through the centuries and is today only the historian and psychologist can say. The original Pharaoh and his mummy are not identical. A dead squirrel is not a squirrel.

The realities in the case are perfectly clear. You may finally discover all the first meanings of the New Testament through more and more exact historical method. What now? Should students be allowed

to assume that those remote meanings exist today? And if this is only the first step toward using them in a religious way today, ought not the other steps to be taken? If the sociologist knows how the Christian church originated, is he not in duty bound to have a session with any theologian who denies the established facts? *Ought not the eager, expectant divinity Junior be exposed not only to first meanings but to later meanings of New Testament passages as well? Must he not at some point become aware of what has happened to the New Testament since Justin the Martyr's day?*

II

The Reconstruction of the Theological Curriculum

A. The Revision of the New Testament Curriculum

In the course of our investigation it has become obvious that in a professional school whose purpose is defined to be the preparation of its students for an efficient ministry to the modern world, the interpretation of the New Testament is very definitely the concern of the entire faculty.

It would seem to follow, then, that the arrangement of the curriculum itself should make this plain to the entering student. Moreover, the contents of the various New Testament courses must be reexamined and reconstructed from the point of view of function.

The older "departments" are anachronistic and almost unrelated. A new horizontal alignment of courses should replace the older vertical arrangement. The new arrangement should be very helpful to the student in supplying the necessary perspective. Studies concerned with the origin of the New Testament or its general story are aspects of church history. Its exegesis is a phase of Christian interpretation. Its revaluation should very definitely be assigned to several professors under the supervision of the professor of psychology. The practical department will show the students how all these findings can be best presented to worship or study groups.

The first major in New Testament area should be a general course with some such title as "Getting Acquainted with the New Testament" to convey to the student its cultural significance. This course should present the data on externals in such a way as to make it possible for the student to put them to immediate use in his practical work. In externals are included historical method, background, introduction, living not dry-as-dust, transmission of the New Testament, its literary beauty,

its influence upon Western culture, its various uses today. It would be the twentieth century crime against the ministerial student to continue to devote such a large amount of time to "background" when scores of dependable books are available. Much water has gone over the New Testament dam since A. D. 1912. Historical method should be shown to be absolutely necessary to the discovery of original meaning but inadequate for revaluation. For introduction such a book as is used in English 35 at Harvard will keep the student awake. If at the end of the course he has acquired an historical point of view, its aim has been accomplished. This course belongs to the professor of New Testament.

Another major course should deal with the religious contents of the New Testament and should be given by the professor of New Testament. It should precede and be closely related to the first course in the History of Christianity. Its main purpose should be to destroy the student's suspicions and fears of the New Testament. It should not become entangled with mere summaries and topics but indicate the variations in the growth of the Christian faith from the thought of Jesus to the philosophy of John.

Another essential course is the "Interpretation of the New Testament by the Church," given jointly by the professor of theology and the professor of church history. It should enable the student to discern what Christian thought and life have done to the New Testament during the Christian era. It would deal not only with the more regular manifestations of Christianity in Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, democratic Christianty, but in the sects and cults. The infinite variations of the past will forever destroy the student's fear of change and teach him that Jesus was well-informed when he said, "Why not judge ye of yourselves what is right."

The professor of preaching should plan to give a fourth essential course in the New Testament known as the "Contemporary Revaluation of the New Testament." *From a functional point of view this course would be the culminating and most important one in the New Testament curriculum.* The other courses were preparatory. This course trains the student in the process of revaluation and makes it possible for him again to enjoy the New Testament in a religious way and to use it effectively in all his work.

B. The Revision of the Entire Theological Curriculum

The principles and methods herein advocated must ultimately be applied to the revision of the entire theological curriculum. There is

no escape. The purpose of the theological curriculum is the development of the Christian way of living. Since progress to be permanent must come from within, from out of the existing structure, it is safe to predict that the Christian interpretation of the future will be based upon the Christian interpretation of the present and past environment of Western life.

The principal trends of the existing environment include health, conservation of natural resources, production, consumption, government, philosophy and religion, education and recreation, exchange, transportation, and communication—all interdependent and relative. The mission of the Christian church is to interpret these and synthesize them in a Christian way of life.

During the last three centuries the momentum of what is called the secularization of Christianity has steadily increased. Prior to the sixteenth century, during the period of the conquest of Christianity, the principal trends in the social order were ecclesiastical organization, the papacy, asceticism, Christian education, charity, church and state, military adventures in behalf of the church, creeds and dogmatic formulations—all authoritative, absolute, revealed.

The Christian interpretation of the future for a long time to come will be conditioned in part by the inherited traditional patterns. But more and more the environment of the future will accelerate the so-called process of secularization. To continue to graduate students from divinity schools familiar only with the first meanings of the New Testament is severely criticized today and will shortly be severely condemned. The graduates of theological schools must also be able to discover permanent values in the New Testament and to articulate them with the religious needs of our contemporary life and must also be aware of the shortcomings of our present civilization, competent to pass stern judgment upon them and get on with the task of building the city of God. For the ultimate goal of all theological education has ever been and must ever be to prepare its product effectively to introduce into the existing environment the leaven of the kingdom of God.

The objective of the revised theological curriculum is very definitely, then, the understanding and development of the Christian way of life. Its main division would be *Christian Development,* or the promotion of a Christian revision of present life. But to acquire the perspective and understanding, intelligently to carry on this propagation of a Christian point of view, historical study and Christian interpretation are essential.

What the theological curriculum rebuilt according to these specifica-

tions would be like may be discerned from the following outline. Areas of study rather than specific courses are indicated.

Understanding and Developing the Christian Way of Life

I. Christian Development, or The Promotion of a Christian Way of Life.

1. Understanding Contemporary Life
2. The Corresponding Christian Culture
3. Worship and Preaching
4. The Ministry and Human Relations
5. Church Administration

II. Christian Progress, or The History of the Christian Way of Life.

6. Christianity and Western Culture
7. The History of the Catholic Churches
8. The History of the Protestant Churches
9. Contemporary Cults and Sects.
10. The Problem of Church and State

III. Christian Interpretation, or The Understanding of the Christian Way of Life.

11. The Psychological Interpretation of Religion
12. Christianity in the History of Religions
13. The Major Issues in Christian Thought
14. Christian Social Theory and Practice
15. The Christian View of the State

This simplified theological curriculum would tell the matriculating student what the course is all about. He would see the reasons for doing this and that. Upon graduation he would be enthusiastic over his vocation and ready to sacrifice for Christian ideals. And we submit that these results make the price of revision rather low.

THE WAY OF THE MYSTICS [1]

RUFUS M. JONES

THE great revealers everywhere always insist that it belongs to the essential nature of God to "shine forth," to break into manifestation. We should all think so, if we were expert enough in recognizing the traces of His Presence. There are footprints of Him across the world and in the starry sky if one has eyes to see. He moves, sometimes in shadow it is true, along the wavering paths of history. There are flashes of His light in the noblest of the written words of the race. He has spoken in the lives and deeds of saints and prophets.

We are at this present moment passing through a period of very striking mystical awakening. Not since the fourteenth century has there been such a general, such a wide-spread, interest in the mystical approach to God. The period of the Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century, especially in Spain and France, saw a profound burst of mystical life, and, again, in the seventeenth century there came in many places in Europe a wave of quietistic mystical life and thought; but in both instances the movement, though very intense, was far less general in its ramifications than is the case today. Not only does the present interest in mysticism touch the leaders of thought in Roman Catholic, Eastern and Anglican circles, and in almost all Protestant communions, but it has had, and still has, interpreters among philosophers, great scientists, and experts in art, in literature and in other branches of learning.

What is perhaps even more significant is the fact that "the common man," engaged in business, on the farm, behind the counter, in the school room, at the student's desk, on the judge's bench, in the doctor's office, and equally the fact that the busy housewife and the woman engaged in gainful occupation, have found a new and living way to sources of strength, fortification and guidance.

The words which Longfellow wrote in his highest creative period, in *Tales of a Wayside Inn,* and which I love to quote, are characteristically true of our time:

"As torrents in summer,
Half dried in their channels,
Suddenly rise, though the
Sky is still cloudless,

[1] This article is the substance of a lecture given by the author at Crozer Theological Seminary. It forms part of a chapter of the author's latest book, *The Eternal Gospel,* just published by the Macmillan Co., New York, N. Y. It is printed with their permission.

For rain has been falling
Far off at their fountains;
So hearts that are fainting
Grow full to o'erflowing;
And they that behold it
Marvel and know not
That God at their fountains
Far off hath been raining."

Many readers of Dr. Alexis Carrel's *Man, the Unknown* have been surprised to discover his warm sympathy for the way of the mystic. He puts mysticism among the "fundamental human activities." "Mysticism," he says, "brings to man the fulfilment of his highest desires—inner strength, spiritual light, divine love, ineffable peace. Religious intuition is as real as esthetic inspiration. Through the contemplation of superhuman beauty, mystics and poets may reach the ultimate truth." It requires elevation of mind but it rises up to and focuses upon a power, a center of forces which the mystic feels is God. This great scientist finally concludes that the grace of God permeates the soul as atmospheric oxygen, or nitrogen from food, diffuses in our tissues.[2]

But there is another side to the shield and it is that "other side" that darkens the whole picture. The secularization of life is much more in evidence in the world today than is the contact with the fountains of God. There are indeed men and women among us who know that in the midst of the mysteries of life and death there is in the deeps within a place of junction with Eternity. But meantime in the rush and hurry and materialistic drive it often seems as though there were no open sky, no realm but that of matter, no values but economic ones. This secular foreshortening of life has made art, poetry, fiction, drama, and too often life itself, thin and one-dimensional. There will be no great art, or music, or poetry, or drama, or preaching, or life either, until we breed a generation that can give a touch of eternity to these creations of the spirit.

We have explored in these years of laboratory research every corner of the world known to us, where secrets lay hid. We have knocked at all doors, even the infinitesimal ones. We have charted the heavens and described the private habits of the atoms. But all this almost unbelievable range of increased knowledge has added, strangely enough, little to our stock of actual wisdom about the issues of life. We have conquered the outward world and put it in our nets, but the explorers of it are not yet "at home" in the universe. We have immensely improved the means of life, but we have somehow failed to discover how to expand *the mean-*

[2] *Man, the Unknown*, by Alexis Carrel. Harper & Brothers, pp. 133-137 and 267.

ing and significance of life. Like poor defeated Samson, we are "eyeless in Gaza." We "know" but we do not "see." We can describe the describable, but we fail to appreciate the imponderables which are eternally real. Our next important "conquest," to use a cheap word in a noble sense, must be within the empire of our interior domain. We must explore "the labyrinthine ways" of our own selves. We must knock at the doors which lie within. We must visit the deeps where we touch upon the frontiers of a great Beyond. We have had our "Westward Ho," our "Northward Ho," our "Southward Ho" and a "Stratosphere Ho," but we need a ringing call now to "Inward Ho"! This business may prove to be as adventurous as climbing Mount Everest or as fighting the way over the ice to the poles of the earth. It may prove to be more fruitful in life-returns than all the expeditions to the stratosphere.

When Falstaff with "his nose as sharp as a pen" and plucking the sheet in terror of death said: "God, God, God!" Dame Quickly remarked that she hoped there was no need to trouble about that yet! Well, there is need to be occupied with that attitude of mind, not merely when death is knocking at the door, but all the time in the midst of this fair world of ours. Zoologists tell us that there are creatures in the lowest and darkest depths of the ocean who find their way about and succeed in securing their means of life by the light which they generate through their own motion. They had their own private electric lights long before man knew how to draw upon the energies of the universe for his illumination. Somewhat so men and women in their need, and in their groping search, discovered reasources of light and power to live by long before there was any wise man who could "explain" either the ground and basis of these resources or could define the method and technique of appropriating the supplies that are there.

We have long known that there are in all men deep-level resources of power. William James in his little book *The Energies of Men* has given some striking illustrations of the way these hidden energies may suddenly become operative and change the line of march to victory for men who had thought they were defeated. James ends his important little book with the words: "We need a topography of the limits of human power, similar to the chart which oculists use for the field of human vision. We need also a study of the various types of human being with reference to the different ways in which their energy reserves may be appealed to and set loose."

Professor J. A. Hadfield, of the University of London, has written a book, small in size and rich in content, entitled *The Psychology of Power,* in which he gives many instances of the discovery of deep-level resources

of power. I will give one of his cases. "Four years ago, at midnight," he says, "I witnessed an explosion at a great munition factory, and afterwards heard that a woman, after her day's work, had risen from bed and, in anxiety for the safety of her husband and son, had run practically the whole distance of seven miles to the scene of the explosion in an incredibly short time." Professor Hadfield lays down two psychological principles in reference to these deep-level energies: First, that there can be an extraordinary expenditure of energy without any equivalent fatigue—"the barrel of meal wastes not, neither does the cruse of oil fail"; and, secondly, these incoming energies are greater than any forces at the disposal of the will. There comes what feels like a lift or surge of power, a new dynamic, with the feeling "I can do all things." It seems as though one had tapped a reservoir in the heights, or as though one had become charged from some great power-house. Moments of faith release these hidden resources and a man suddenly does what he couldn't. The physiologist inclines to trace the secret of this inrush of power to the glands—perhaps to the adrenals. The psychologist reports that certain ideas associated with fundamental instinctive emotions are extraordinarily *propulsive*. The man who has the experience, if he is deeply religious, is apt to say: "The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon me."

But in any case the fact of increase of power—power and nothing more—is no evidence that God has entered the person's life. "Power" is a neutral word. Power revealed within may be no more spiritual than is outward power revealed in a passing cyclone. To say that a man has "power" leaves us uncertain whether to fear him or to love him. Power may even be Satanic. Some of the most dangerous men in history have shown extraordinary resources of power. Their glands, or their reservoirs of energy, or the deep well of their subliminal regions, have poured in on them unwonted reserves of power. We cannot conclude from the release of power that those who experienced it were in a peculiar sense the chosen of the Lord. But there are many instances in which the inrush of energy leads on to a marked increase of life. I mean by "increase of life" a heightening of the quantity of it.

This heightening of the life amounts often to what may well be called "a new creation." St. John's Gospel, in fact, declares that there are persons who have received a peculiar type of power, "power to become sons of God." It is distinctly *a new life-level* that is here referred to—a difference not in quantity, in length, but in quality. That is quite another matter from a mere release of energy to run seven miles, or to leap a high fence when an onrushing bull is close behind. That other "power" seems like the finger of God in the creative act. Michelangelo has ma-

jestically painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel the scene of the creation of Adam. The clay form of a man lies perfectly fashioned and finished and then God reaches His creative finger toward the clay form. A flash of power goes forth and wakes the man to life and consciousness. But Michelangelo was representing in his picture the creation of a man of the *Genesis* type, a finished biological being, innocent, untested, unstable, and not yet fitted for enduring the stress and strain of moral issues. He was at best only "a first Adam"—"a living soul." "The earnest expectation of the whole creation" was still waiting for a higher order of man to appear. That "higher order" did appear in Christ, but the great prophets of the soul who were nearest to Him, both in time and in spirit, kept insisting that He was "the first born among many brethren," and that this new creation is an endless spiritual process of the ages.

George Santayana, a philosopher and not a prophet, says: "One of the great things always possible to a man is spiritual life." So it is. But it does not come by pipe-dreaming, or by lazy sighing for lost paradises. It comes only through cooperative correspondence with the touch of the Creative finger of God, who gives "power to become sons of God." It is no more difficult to raise the dead than it is to leap, unaided by a higher operative environment, to the new creation, into that life which has come up through the flaming sword and has entered the genuinely spiritual stage of being. When this kind of "power" bursts in on a person—power to become a spiritual being—it must, I think, be traced beyond glands and beyond the margins of the self, though no one yet knows where the farthest limits of the self—the inner pillars of Hercules—are to be fixed.

Emerson said once: "We only believe as deep as we live." It is profoundly true. It is one thing to "say words" about great matters and quite another thing to have attained the spirit and life from which the words legitimately come. Chesterton speaks of "a mere splashing about in a vocabulary," and too many of us have become familiar with that art of "splashing about" with words. Discussions about "Mysticism" are apt to be on the level of word-debates. Humpty Dumpty in *Alice in Wonderland* said: "When I use a word it means what I want it to mean." That characterizes all those word-debates on great issues. I should like, if it is possible to do so, to take this subject down to the deeper level of the life from which the words come. I know perfectly well that the phrase, "new creation" can be just another "vocable." I have heard it bandied about in theological discussions and in revival sermons. The word usually meant what each speaker wanted it to mean. But when a person comes up through the flaming sword and actually

has "power" to become "a new creation" of the spiritual order he does not need to shout the fact to his neighbors with a megaphone.

There is an organism which is called "volvox." It is a low order of life, so low in fact that it is not quite possible for biologists to decide whether it is vegetable or animal. It does not declare its allegiance to either kingdom. One does not know on which kingdom-level it belongs. It is sometimes so with persons who belong to the Church. They have a name that they "belong" to it. But their *life* reveals no higher loyalties, no allegiance to the kingdom of the Spirit, no evidence that they have come through the gate to the Tree of Life. There is one sure mark and brand of being on the level of the "new creation," and that is, the emergence in the person of the *spirit of love*. Almost everything else can be "put on" and "put off" like a garment. One can say creeds with reservations, or with subtle mental interpretations. One can go through with the most sacred rites and have no inward *feel* of their significance, and be the same person he was before. One can sit and listen to the words of holy men and, if possible, of angels, and yet be quite sterile of any spiritual harvest. But love, to be *love,* must reach beyond sign or symbol; it must be more than word or act. A person may give all his goods to feed the poor, or even give his body to be burned, and not have *love*. Love is always an inward spring and motion. It is a spirit revealing itself. It suffers long and is kind. It is never selfish, never irritated, never resentful. It is always hopeful, always patient, always kind. It never fails, it never lets go. It is what St. Paul well called "newness of life."

We talk a great deal about "the mystery of evil." It is set as one of the major problems of theology. It puzzles all makers of theodicies. It leaves a yawning chasm in all attempts to "justify the ways of God." A still greater mystery, however, in this world of atoms and forces is the mystery of love. We can understand how in an evolving world there would be relics and hangovers from lower stages, which from the higher level of attainment seem crude, regrettable and even positively *evil*. If the stream of life is to maintain itself and progress by struggle for existence there is bound to be a premium on traits of selfishness and there is sure to be strong emphasis on interest in "number one." It is a great mystery in a world like ours how *love* ever got into the stream. Fortunately we have come to see at length that something which may be called "love" has always in some slight degree been present in the stream, that *struggle for others* is as inherent in the life-process as is struggle for existence. But the *love* I am talking about here is a super-biological trait. It is sublimated and purified and raised quite out of the domain of instinct.

It is a solvent of selfishness; not a product of it. It brings an aspect of beauty and radiance into life. It reveals a remarkable expansion of life. Moffatt finds a passage in the One Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm which reads, "Thou, O Eternal God, dost open up my life." Something like that enlargement occurs with those who have this spirit of love.

The greatest experts have always felt convinced that *love* of this highest order is "of God." It is a stream here in time that has come out of an Eternal Fountain. It has been said of Saint Francis that "he ran away to God" as other boys "run away to sea." Franciscan *love* is the best evidence that when Francis "ran away to God" he actually *found Him.* That kind of love comes to birth with the soul's discovery of the prevenient love of God. "We love because He first loved" (1 John 4:19).

John Woolman's account of his experience is impressive. "In a time of sickness," he says, "a little more than two and a half years ago, I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy color between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live and that *I was mixed with them,* and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In that state I remained several hours. I heard a soft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel that spake to the other angels; the words were: 'John Woolman is dead.'" He was carried in spirit where he saw the poor, the suffering, the oppressed people of the world, and he felt "mixed with them" in their sufferings, and finally when his tongue could utter words he said: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me. Then," he continues, "the mystery was opened and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a sinner who had repented, and that the language, 'John Woolman is dead,' meant no more than the death of my own will."

Like Saint Francis, John Woolman—another John who was "a well-beloved disciple"—"Ran away to God," and had a love born in him, what he would call "a pure love," a love unmixed with self, which enabled him, in "the irresistible might of meekness," to turn all that he possessed, including himself, "into the channel of universal love." He was himself too humble to claim any such attainment of love. What he did say was that, "This state in which every motion from the selfish spirit yieldeth to pure love, I may acknowledge with gratitude to the Father of Mercies,

is often opened before me as a pearl to seek after." At another time he expressed his pure aspiration in these words: "That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulness in following the pure spirit of truth, that state in which our minds are devoted to serve God and all our wants are bounded by his wisdom, has opened to me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, in which we may be separated from that which disordereth and confuseth the affairs of society, and may have a testimony for our innocence in the hearts of those that behold us."

Those who knew this saintly man felt convinced that he had already attained the pearl which he sought and had already the testimony of innocence in the hearts of those who beheld his life. Those who lived near him saw "glances of beauty" in him, and Whittier, who was very close to him in spirit, says, in closing his sketch of Woolman's life, that "in delineating a character of such moral and spiritual symmetry I have felt something like rebuke from my own words. I have been awed and solemnized by the presence of a serene and beautiful spirit redeemed of the Lord from all selfishness." [3]

This kind of "power" does not come into dominion in a person's life through hysteria. It is not the stigma of epilepsy. Professor George W. Crile said in a lecture in Philadelphia a few years ago that the frontal lobes of man's brain are "the organs of strategy which enable him to survive in a world full of deadly enemies." I have often wondered what organs of the body this physiologist would select to explain the actions of a person who

> "Nailed all flesh to the Cross, till self
> died out in love of his kind."

I wonder what "organs of strategy" there are that account for the slow integration of the self down through its depths, for the sublimation of all the native springs of action, and that finally produce this beautiful creation who turns all that he possesses into the channel of universal love. It is notable that such triumphant lives are usually of the mystical type. They have experienced what seemed to them contacts of another kind of environment than the material one; which supplies them with bread and atmosphere.

Mystical experience, we may say, is the discovery of man's own nature in its relations with the Eternal. It is not unlike what happens to us in our greatest experiences of beauty. You are in Dresden and you visit the Art Gallery. You drift into a room and find yourself standing in front of Raphael's "Sistine Madonna." There comes a kind of sudden inward

[3] J. G. Whittier's Introduction to the *Journal of John Woolman.* (Boston, 1884.)

"click." You feel an electric flash. You say: "That is the most beautiful thing I ever saw," or, better still, you are thrown into a speechless hush, while your whole being palpitates and overbrims with joy and wonder. What has happened? Have you been so deeply moved, because you are looking at a picture worth twenty million dollars? Are you so deeply impressed because you are in front of a *famous* work of art about which everybody talks, and because you can write a newspaper article about it and half pay for your trip? No, that does not explain the *spell.* You have discovered something which fits the deepest nature in you and calls forth the right response for which you were made.

Somewhat so in these highest mystical moments of contact with the real presence of God, there is a sense of having arrived at the goal of life. There is a flash of the invisible World breaking in which illuminates the whole meaning of life. You are aware of being visited at home by the long-sought Guest rather than of having gone to some foreign region. The empty frame of life has been filled with the picture that fits it. This humble human life of ours has come upon the shore of its own true Mother Sea. We come back to the same world, the old-time tasks, the same scenery and circumstance. Nothing in the landscape has changed, and yet everything is *different.* The new acquisition is not an accumulated stock of ideas, not a logical proof which can be transmitted in words. It is rather an intensified conviction of the reality of God, a deepened faith which underlies all one's activities, a peace and serenity in the midst of the difficulties and even the frustrations that beset us, and a radiant spirit of adventure.

WORLD CHRISTIANITY: A DIGEST

has entered upon its second year as a quarterly in the familiar digest form and size, dealing mainly with conditions confronting Christianity's world service in our day. The current number devotes a quarter of its 128 pages to eleven articles on "Christianity and the Sino-Japanese Conflict." The office of publication is at 140 South Dearborn Street, Chicago. Subscriptions are $1.00 a year. The Crozer Quarterly is one of two hundred American and foreign exchanges from which articles are selected.

SUPPRESSION OF MINORITY OPINION IN TIMES OF CRISIS IN AMERICA[1]

RAY H. ABRAMS

THE range of material suggested by the topic is admittedly too broad to attempt to cover in the time allotted for this paper. I am limiting the discussion to a consideration of certain aspects of the suppression of minority opinion in this country in three of our major crises—the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War. Many important details must by necessity be omitted entirely.

Perhaps from the historical data here assembled may be ascertained certain tendencies in time of severe crisis which will enable us to predict, with a certain degree of reliability, what will happen in the next major upheaval in America. One of the purposes of the natural sciences is to be able, on the basis of past observation, to predict what will take place in the future, if the conditions are known. It is evident that the social scientists are lacking in the ability to predict with the same degree of exactness and reliability as the astronomer, for example. Nevertheless, there are certain tendencies which the social scientists have observed, which serve as the basis of prediction of group behavior in the future.

That this country is tending toward participation in another World War many competent observers agree. Moreover, there are plenty of indications that the class struggle in America is more than likely to assume proportions of violence the like of which has never been witnessed here before. Certainly we are now going through a social revolution of tremendous significance. Whether the present is the prelude to battle lines and street barricades I do not profess to know. But, in the event that the present tension and unrest culminates in violence and open warfare, what will happen to the minority opinion in this country?

Since this is a combined meeting of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History, it may be of some importance to note the part which the churches played in suppressing opinions distasteful to the group in power, and the rôle which organized religion and the clergy are quite likely to play in the future.

First, let us look at the period of the American Revolution. While it is customary to classify events according to strict dates, such as 1776-1783, we know that the Revolution actually had been going along in active fashion for more than a generation prior to the violent stage. On

[1] Paper read at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History, Philadelphia, December 29, 1937.

the intellectual side, during practically the whole of the eighteenth century prior to 1776, the New England clergy, particularly, had been preaching the doctrines of the right of disobedience to unconstitutional acts, that these natural rights were sacred, came from God, and, if need be, the people should preserve them by the legal right of resistance. If necessary, they should overthrow old governments to establish new ones.[2]

"There was not," concludes Alice M. Baldwin, in her *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution,* "a right asserted in the Declaration of Independence which had not been discussed by the New England clergy before 1763."[3]

The clergy were not alone in the promulgation of such doctrines, for similar views had been spread by other intellectuals in the colonies as well.

When the open break came with the mother country, in 1776, the minds of vast numbers of the people in New England, at least, had been well prepared for the philosophy of the new day—fighting for what were regarded as certain inalienable rights. The success of many of the active leaders, such as John Hancock and the Adamses, in stirring up rebellion, was only possible because hundreds of clergymen had prepared a sufficiently large number of people, intellectually and emotionally, for the final step of shouldering arms.

A question may be raised here about the use of the word "minority" in the Revolution. It seems doubtful that in 1775 the Whigs actually constituted or represented a majority of the people in the thirteen colonies. Students of the period are not altogether in agreement as to the relative numerical strength of the parties. There are those who believe that the Loyalists outnumbered the Whigs. Perhaps, however, the estimate of John Adams and others such as Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is nearer correct. They believed that one-third of the people in the colonies had been opposed to the Revolution in all its stages. Out of the three million inhabitants, then, approximately a million did not approve of rebellion or separation from the mother country.[4] These Tories, of course, represented many of the finest and most influential citizens in the early colonies. They were *law-abiding* citizens. Naturally, there was a great variation in Tory strength in the various localities. The largest number were in New York and Pennsylvania. They were so strong in Georgia that in 1781 they were ready to detach the colony from the rebellious movement, but defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown ended all Loyalist hopes.

[2] Baldwin, Alice M., *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution,* Duke University Press, 1928, p. 169.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 170.

[4] *The Works of John Adams.* Little, Brown and Co., Boston. 1856. Vol. X, pp. 63, 87, 110.

While the Tories and the indifferent colonists actually outnumbered the Whigs in some localities, nevertheless, the revolutionists came to be so aggressive that, for our purposes, the Tories constituted the minority. In a locality such as New York City, the Whigs were at a disadvantage, for that city, during the greater part of the struggle, was a Tory paradise.

It is not necessary to go into a discussion of the various techniques of repression used by the Whigs, such as intimidation, violence, mobs, tar and feathers, torture, arson, murder, bloodshed, banishment, and confiscation of property. The Tories retaliated in many instances. A new nation was being born and it was a traumatic experience.[5]

There are several aspects of the whole struggle which I should like to emphasize. First, one of the major issues in the conflict was the right of liberty of expression. There was much palaver concerning certain inalienable rights which the Whigs demanded. Yet in seeking to obtain these precious rights they denied them to the members of the opposition.

A short time before the affair at Lexington and Concord, Daniel Leonard, a Loyalist of Massachusetts, wrote a series of letters to the Massachusetts *Gazette and Post Boy:*

> that so many respectable persons have been abused, and forced to sign recantations and resignations; that so many persons, to avoid such reiterated insults as are more to be deprecated by a man of sentiment than death itself, have been obliged to quit their houses, families, and business, and fly to the army for protection. . . Have not these people, that are insulted, as good a right to think and act for themselves in matters of last importance, as the Whigs? Are they not as closely connected with the interest of their country as the Whigs? Do not their former lives and conversations appear to have been regulated by principle, as much as those of the Whigs? You must answer—Yes! Why, then, do you suffer them to be cruelly treated, for differing in sentiment from you? Is it consistent with that liberty you profess? Do you expect to make converts by it? . . Do you wish to silence them that the inhabitants may appear unanimous? The maltreatment they have received for differing from you, is an undeniable evidence that we are not unanimous. . . It is astonishing, my friends, that those who are in the pursuit of liberty, should ever suffer arbitrary power, in such a hideous form and squalid hue, to get a footing among them.[6]

Leonard and his family fled from Taunton to Boston to get behind the British lines. Upon British evacuation in March, 1776, they embarked for Halifax and thence to England.

The instruments used in the influencing of opinion in those days

[5] Van Tyne, Claude H., *The Loyalists in the American Revolution,* Macmillan, N. Y., 1902. *Passim.*

[6] Massachusetts: or a Series of Letters, etc., London, 1776. Pp. 35, 36. *Vid.* Whipple, Leon, *The Story of Civil Liberty in the United States,* Vanguard Press, N. Y., 1927. The record of civil liberty in the United States from 1776-1917 (the period studied) shows, says Whipple, that " whoever has power, economic or political, enjoys liberty." (P. vi.)

were largely the political pamphlets and tracts, the pulpit and the press. The pamphlets were in many respects far more influential than the newspapers. The battle between the contending sides frequently ended in violence in an attempt to squelch the opponent. The Committees of Correspondence and the mobs were unmerciful in meting out punishment to the Tory writers and pamphleteers upon whom they could lay their hands.

After the appearance of the first pamphlet in the series of essays of the "Westchester Farmer," written (so we now know) by the Tory Episcopalian clergyman, Samuel Seabury, rector of the parish of St. Peter in Westchester, New York, the populace became so aroused that copies of the pamphlet were gathered up and burned, some were covered with tar and feathers, and others nailed to the whipping-post and lashed. Within a year after the first pamphlet was written, the public indignation was of such a character that the clergyman was kidnapped by an armed band on the night of November 22, 1775, and carried to New Haven, where he was imprisoned for more than a month. Failing to prove the charges against him, Seabury was released and allowed to go home. However, his life not being safe, the Loyalist clergyman fled within the British lines in New York City.[7]

This treatment of Seabury was by no means unusual but on the contrary rather typical of that received by many clergymen and laymen.[8]

The story of the newspapers is equally one of suppression and the ruthlessness of the mob. Isaiah Thomas, in his *History of Printing in America,* lists thirty-seven newspapers which were published in the British colonies, that now comprise the United States, when the war broke out in 1775, or came into existence before the end of that year.

In tracing the history of these papers, one discovers that not a single Loyalist journal was permitted to continue outside of British controlled territory. Neither was any publication permitted where the editor attempted to be neutral or impartial. Revolutionists do not crave nor admire objectivity nor accurate reporting. When the British evacuated Boston, the two Loyalist papers, the Massachusetts *Gazette* and Boston *Post Boy and Advertiser,* and the Massachusetts *Gazette* and Boston *Weekly News Letter* ceased operations. While the troops of the mother country occupied Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania *Ledger,* the Pennsylvania *Evening Post,* the *Royal Gazette,* and *Sower's German Gazette*

[7] Tyler, Moses Coit, *A Literary History of the American Revolution.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1897. Vol. I, pp. 353-355. Also *vid.* Beardsley, Eben Edwards, *Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D. D.* Second Edition, Houghton, Boston, 1881, pp. 76-79.

[8] *Vid.* Tyler, *op. cit.* Vol. I, chap. xiv on the Rev. Jonathan Boucher. Sabine, Lorenzo, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution.* II Vols. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1864.

continued their publication. Upon British withdrawal of troops all but one of the newspapers folded up. The lone exception was the Pennsylvania *Evening Post.* This paper had at first been pro-colonial, then pro-British, and then, lacking British protection, the editor, Benjamin Towne, recanted and turned anti-British. He was proscribed by the law of Pennsylvania, but for some reason was allowed to remain and continued his paper until 1782.

In New York City, three Loyalist papers thrived up to the time of British evacuation. These were Rivington's famous New York *Gazeteer,* the New York *Mercury,* and the *Royal American Gazette.* At the close of the war, they all went out of business, though Rivington continued for a few months longer than the others.

That the British, wherever possible, carried out similar policies of suppression is to be expected. There had been official censorship of the press in the colonies and now the authorities were bent upon stamping out rebellion in all its forms. Some Whig editors escaped with their presses and set up business in other cities a safe distance away. This was the case with the Boston *Gazette,* the Massachusetts *Spy,* the Newport *Mercury,* the New York *Journal and General Advertiser,* and the Pennsylvania *Packet or General Advertiser.* At least seven other Whig newspapers either ceased publication permanently or were suspended during British occupation.[9]

Let us now turn to the clergy and the churches. Attention has already been directed to the manner in which the clergy, particularly in New England, prepared the people for the Revolution by force of arms. It is difficult to imagine how the Revolution could have been carried through successfully without the gentlemen of the cloth. Except for the aid of the "black regiment," as James Otis humorously called them, he declared it would have been impossible for him to have carried out his points.[10] The clergy had much more prestige with the multitude in those days than now. Hence the pulpits as agencies for the dissemination of propaganda were second to none. The pulpits were used as recruiting stations, their occupants occasionally leading the troops forth from the church to the battle lines. The sharp-tongued John Cleveland of Ipswich "is said to have preached his whole parish into the army and then to have gone himself." [11]

[9] The most complete and best single account of the newspapers is Thomas, Isaiah, *The History of Printing in America,* II Vols. (Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. VI), Albany, N. Y., 1874. *Vid.* also Duniway, Clyde A., *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts,* Longmans, Green, N. Y., 1906.

[10] Quoted in Tyler, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 278.

[11] Baldwin, *op. cit.* p. 162; *Vid.* Thornton, John W., *The Pulpit of the American Revolution,* Gould and Lincoln, Boston, 1860.

The ministers, in addition to fighting and acting as chaplains, wrote pamphlets and articles for the newspapers, served on the Committees of Correspondence, deciphered the British secret code, manufactured ammunition, helped to break up trade with the British, sacrificed their salaries for the cause, and drove the Tories out of town.

One of the chief functions of the man of God, in time of war, is so to glorify the cause as to make it appear to be the most holy in all the world. Religiously minded people love a crusade against the powers of darkness in the name of the Almighty. The leaders rationalize it in terms of God versus his Satanic Majesty. "What effect must it have had upon the audience," said a writer at the beginning of the war, "to hear the same sentiments and principles, which they had before read in a newspaper, delivered on Sundays from the sacred desk, with a religious awe, and the most solemn appeals to heaven, from lips which they had been taught from their cradles, to believe could utter nothing but eternal truths!" [12]

The inspired clergy were among the chief agents of attacks upon and suppression of the Tories. This same John Cleveland was particularly violent in his denunciation of General Gage:

> Thou profane, wicked monster of falsehood and perfidy . . . your late infamous proclamation is as full of notorious lies, as a toad or rattlesnake of deadly poison —you are an abandoned wretch. . . Without speedy repentance, you will have an aggravated damnation in hell . . . you are not only a robber, a murderer, and usurper, but a wicked Rebel: a rebel against the authority of truth, law, equity, the English constitution of government, these colony states, and humanity itself.[13]

Cleveland is not so unusual as might be supposed. Dozens of statements from others might be quoted in the same vein, though the language might not be quite as picturesque. These patriot clergymen stirred up malice against the Tories and the particularly harsh and brutal treatment which many Loyalists received at the hands of mobs is traceable, in part, to the inspiration of ministers.

In the Boston *News Letter* of March 17, 1775, a clergyman writes that some of his brethren "strive to inflame the worst passion of the human mind," and asks, "why do patriots continuously wish and urge us to feed these unfriendly and malignant vices?" [14]

The clergy, by denominational groups, varied in their adherence to armed rebellion. The Congregationalists were practically unanimous in

[12] Daniel Leonard in *Novanglies and Massachusetts: or Political Essays Published in the years 1774 and 1775, on the principal points of Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies.* Boston, 1819, p. 151.

[13] Baldwin, *op. cit.*, in the *Essex Gazette*, July 13, 1775, p. 157.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

their endorsement of the war. William Warren Sweet concludes that "no church in the American Colonies had so large an influence in bringing on the War for Independence as had the Congregational." [15] The Presbyterians furnished many of the leaders of the Revolution.[16] George Washington congratulated the Baptists for the unanimity with which they had proved themselves the "firm friend of civil liberty and promoted our glorious Revolution." [17]

The famous Muhlenberg family was a guarantee of the support of the Lutherans,[18] and the Carrolls the Catholics. According to Archbishop Carroll, "Their Catholic blood flowed as freely, in proportion to their numbers, to cement the fabric of independence as that of any of their fellow citizens." [19]

The Quakers were divided, their belief in non-resistance creating an emotional conflict.[20]

The Methodists were in a dilemma, since John Wesley had classed John Hancock as a felon and called upon the Colonists to lay down their arms. Wesley's leadership and influence of the many English missionaries in this country caused the majority of those in Methodism to side with the mother country.[21]

The Episcopalians in New England were practically all Loyalists; in other sections they were divided. At the close of the Revolutionary War, according to one authority, "no church was in so deplorable a condition as was the Anglican." [22] Of course, the relationship of church and state and the predominately English culture pattern of the Episcopal churches in this country were the decisive factors in accounting for their strong emotional attachment to the mother country.

What happened to the clergy who refused or failed to respond to the appeal of the Whigs? In Sabine's work on the Loyalists is given the biographical sketches of 139 clergymen who were Tories living in 1775. Of these, 95 are clearly Episcopalian. Congregationalists number 22. These were concentrated in New England. Of the 95 Episcopalians, 58 were in New England and New York, 19 in Pennsylvania, New Jersey

[15] Sweet, W. W., *The Story of Religions in America,* Harpers, N. Y., 1930, p. 256.

[16] Humphrey, E. F., *Nationalism and Religion,* Chipman Law Publishing Co., Boston, 1924, pp. 82-104.

[17] Sparks, Jared (Ed.), *The Writings of George Washington,* Boston and New York, 1834-47. Vol. XII, pp. 154-55.

[18] Humphrey, *op. cit.,* pp. 114-116.

[19] O'Gorman, Thomas, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* Christian Literature Co., N. Y. (3rd. Ed.), 1900, pp. 255, 256.

[20] Sweet, *op. cit.,* pp. 269-271.

[21] Wesley, John, *Works,* American Edition, Methodist Book Concern, N. Y. Vol. VI, pp. 300-321; Humphrey, *op. cit.,* p. 173.

[22] Sweet, *op. cit.,* p. 256.

and Maryland with the remainder scattered down the coast. Sabine does not have an absolutely complete list but it serves to show the high proportionate number of Episcopalian clergymen—practically seventy per cent.[23] This number is the more impressive when we consider the relative number of churches. It has been estimated that in 1770 there were in Massachusetts 294 Congregational churches, 16 Baptist, 18 Quaker, and 11 Episcopalian. The proportion was approximately the same in other parts of New England, with more Episcopalians in Connecticut, and more Baptists in Rhode Island. The Congregationalists and Baptists made up about four-fifths of church-going New England.[24]

The ministers who remained loyal to the English constitution as they interpreted it, were frequently proscribed, suffered at the hands of mobs, were thrown in jail, driven into exile with general loss of property through confiscation and theft. At least one-half of the Episcopalians went back to England or to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. In modern times this process would be called "the liquidation of the clergy." Those Americans who are unusually vehement in their denunciation of property confiscation in Russia, Spain, Mexico, and Germany, usually forget that our ancestors practised much the same policy with no apologies when this country went through the throes of revolution. Moreover, there were plenty of concentration camps to handle the situation.[25]

The amount of losses claimed by Loyalists totaled £8,026,045. The British Government reimbursed the claimants with the sum of £3,292,455.[26] In those days that was no inconsiderable amount of money.

The Civil War period, while in many respects bearing points of similarity to the Revolutionary, has at the same time many contrasts. By 1861 the thirteen original colonies had expanded to the Pacific Coast. The pioneer spirit with its emphasis on individual initiative and intolerance of regimentation was very powerful. We were still an agricultural nation where a goodly proportion of men were fairly independent in the manner in which they earned their living. Our traditions were highly individualistic. At the same time strong political parties had grown up. The Democratic party itself gave evidence of being firmly entrenched in various sections of the North.

When war was declared and the country divided into North and South, both sections had to contend with minorities in their midst. Space forbids dealing with the problem in the South. Studies made of the

[23] Sabine, *op. cit., passim.*
[24] Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.
[25] Van Tyne, *op. cit.*, Chap. IX, ff.
[26] Sabine, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 112.

minority situation there, however, reveal that the government of Jefferson Davis had a very real task in dealing with small opposition groups and that these greatly weakened the Southern cause.[27]

In the North these minorities ran true to the individualistic tradition. For nearly a century the citizens had been practising the right to differ. War did not altogether abridge that right. In the states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, particularly, the Democrats and other groups lost few opportunities to embarrass the administration. Some of the leading Democrats, in order to make doubly effective their opposition to the war, helped in the formation of such secret organizations as " The Knights of the Golden Circle," " The Order of the Star," " The Circle of Honor," " The Knights of the Mighty Host," " The Order of American Knights," " The Sons of Liberty," and " The Sons of '76."

The Knights of the Golden Circle had originally been founded in Alabama, in 1855. Upon the outbreak of the war, its name, constitution, and ritual had been taken over by the opponents of the war in the North. By the beginning of 1862, so many members had joined the organization in the Northwest that the Union party was panic-stricken. The notorious Clement L. Vallandigham was the Supreme Commander in 1864. The very secrecy of these organizations gave them power beyond their real worth. In the election in the fall of 1862, the regular Democrats, by shrewd political maneuvering, swept into office the state tickets by large majorities in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These presented stout opposition to the policies of the administration.

It is apparent that it would have been impossible for the Federal government to have suppressed all opposition to the war.

General Burnside was appointed to take command of the Department of Ohio with headquarters at Cincinnati. Having failed to conquer Lee's army, he seems to have sought compensation by aggressively suppressing opposition among the civilians in Ohio. Hence his famous Order No. 38 as of April 13, 1863, which prohibited " the habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy." [28]

That this was purely autocratic goes without saying. The principal victim was Vallandigham, who was arrested and sentenced to close confinement for the remainder of the war. Due to the intervention of President Lincoln, a compromise was effected with this high-handed, unconstitutional procedure. As a result, Vallandigham found himself banished within the Confederate lines. The Southerners assisted him in escaping

[27] *Vid.* Tatum, Georgia Lee, *Disloyalty in the Confederacy,* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1934; Moore, Albert Burton, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy,* Macmillan, N. Y., 1924.

[28] Smith, Edward Conrad, *The Borderland in the Civil War,* Macmillan, N. Y., p. 342 ff.

to Canada where he kept up his writing and opposition to the "Lincoln" policies. The Copperhead newspapers filled their pages with his speeches and writings. Toward the close of the war he came back to Ohio and carried on unmolested.[29]

From the beginning to the end of the war, the Federal government "made constant and drastic use of its military power in dealing with speech and press."[30] Lincoln, as commander-in-chief, early authorized the suspension of habeas corpus along the line of march between Philadelphia and Washington, and later, by mere proclamation, extended the martial area. In the spring of 1863, Congress gave the President the power to suspend the writ anywhere in the United States. Consequently, military authorities could arrest men without warrants, throw them into prison, and mete out penalties without resort to the courts. When Roger B. Taney, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, handed down his decision in the well-known Merryman case, and maintained with some invective that the President had no right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, Lincoln simply ignored the Chief Justice.[31]

A few examples of suppression have been summarized by the Beards:

> Editors of hostile journals were put in prison, their papers suspended, their newsboys arrested. Peace meetings were broken up and the organizers sent to jail. Members of the Maryland legislature, the mayor of Baltimore, and local editors accused of holding obstructive views were arrested on military order, though they were charged with no overt act of any kind, they were held in jail and denied the privilege of a hearing before a civil magistrate.[32]

The number of arrests in the Civil War period represents the largest record of official interference with civil rights in the whole history of the United States. The Records of the Commissary General of Prisoners contains the names of 13,535 citizens who were arrested and confined in military prisons from February, 1862, to the end of the war. To this number should be added those arrested by the Navy and State Departments and those confined in the State prisons and penitentiaries. No one knows what the sum total would be, though the estimate of Alexander Johnson that it was in the neighborhood of 38,000 seems exaggerated.[33]

The extra-legal and irregular activities of the Government were thus conspicuous. As James G. Randall observes:

[29] Randall, J. G., *The Civil War and Reconstruction,* Health, N. Y., p. 395ff.

[30] Beard, Chas. and Mary, *The Rise of American Civilization,* Macmillan, N. Y., 1930, Vol. II, p. 79.

[31] Randall, James G., *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln,* Appleton, N. Y., 1926, pp. 84, 120ff., 161-162.

[32] Beard, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 80.

[33] Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln,* Chap VII.

It is indeed a striking fact that Lincoln, who stands forth in popular conception as the great democrat, the exponent of liberty and of government by the people, was driven by circumstances to the use of more arbitrary power than perhaps any other President has seized. Probably no President, not even Wilson, carried the power of presidential proclamation and of executive order so far as did Lincoln. It would not be easy to state what Lincoln conceived to be the limit of his powers.[34]

It was James Bryce who commented that "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell." [35]

In spite of this immense amount of arbitrary power, Lincoln himself seems to have been more reluctant to suppress than one would believe judging from certain spectacular cases such as those of Vallandigham and Milligan.[36]

During the entire Civil War there was no real censorship of the press such as we witnessed during the World War. Though there was far more opposition to Lincoln and his policies and more personal abuse than against Woodrow Wilson, yet the government passed no Espionage or Sedition Law. One reason for this was the fear on the part of the administration that it might go too far in clamping down on dissension. Elections were constantly being held both for state and national legislatures, and there was the presidential election of 1864. Too much suppression would have reacted like a boomerang. Hence the most disloyal type of utterances were frequently permitted. Then it is to be recalled that Lincoln had an especially good sense of humor. In general he advised non-interference with the press. His attitude was expressed in a letter to General Schofield:

You will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion to exercise with great caution, calmness and forbearance.[37]

Yet, as illustrated in the well-known cases of the Chicago *Times,* and the New York *World,* there was no consistent policy. There never is in wartime—nor in peacetime either for that matter.

The amount of freedom of the press which existed in certain areas may be illustrated by the manner in which some of the Copperhead news-

[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 513-514.

[35] Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth,* II Vols., Macmillan, London and New York, Second Edition, 1891, p. 61.

[36] Randall, supra, p. 521.

[37] Nicolay, John G., and Hay, John, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln.* Gettysburg ed., XII Vols., N. Y., 1905. Vol. IX, p. 148.

papers carried on. In the region of Philadelphia, the *Jeffersonian* of West Chester, Pennsylvania, and the Philadelphia *Age* are examples of practically unrestrained freedom.

A reading of the complete files of these papers is more impressive than any discourse on the subject of freedom of the press could possibly be. The week-to-week character of the violent abuse of Lincoln, and the constant attacks on the program of the administration were of such a character that, if they had been uttered in the World War, the editors would have received a sentence to Leavenworth or Atlanta for twenty years, if not for life.

The *Jeffersonian* had its troubles, of course. On a moonlight night in August, 1861, an enraged mob, members of a secret Republican organization, forced its way into the office of the *Jeffersonian* and destroyed everything in sight.[38] Within a week after this dismantling of the Democratic paper, the United States Marshal, William Millward, took possession of the plant upon what he claimed was the "authority of the President of the United States."

The fiery editor, John Hodgson, demanded a hearing, which he received before the Circuit Court of Philadelphia, October 7, 1861. The court saw no specific charge in the indictment that the *Jeffersonian* had been used "to aid and abet the insurrection." The property was returned to Hodgson.

The editor then started suit against the marshal and his deputies for trespass *vi et armis*. The case came up for trial in Philadelphia in February, 1863. At the conclusion of the trial the charge which Judge Lowrie delivered to the jury is a classic for wartime objectivity and judicial balance. He advised:

> No one can pretend that our law was changed by the mere fact of the Rebellion, so far as it relates to the rights that now claim to be vindicated by us. . . The very purpose of law is to set a rule that may remain fixed and immovable among the disturbances of society, and that shall be the standard of judging them instead of being their judge.

In spite of public pressure and abuse of Hodgson by the *Evening Bulletin* and Forney's Philadelphia *Press,* that called him "one of the worst enemies of the government," the jury awarded damages to the extent of $512. On a technicality the case was retried before the U. S. Circuit Court, October 29, 1864, and another jury awarded damages for the amount of $504.33.

[38] For all references to the *Jeffersonian, vid.* Abrams, Ray H., "The *Jeffersonian,* Copperhead Newspaper," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. LVII, July, 1933, pp. 260-283.

This was one of the editors who called Lincoln the "Great Illinois Jester and Buffoon," the "Smutty Joker," and the man responsible for the "Slaughter Pen," and the "Shambles," whose every editorial page ran riot with criticisms of governmental plans and procedures and whose pages were filled with the writings and speeches of Vallandigham, and news and speeches from the South. That he should have been awarded damages by a jury, in fact two separate juries, during a time when war excitement was at its height, seems now incredible in the light of the manner in which treatment was meted out to newspapers and individuals who, during the World War, manifested even slight opposition to the Holy War or sympathy for the enemy.

The Philadelphia *Age* was not as vitriolic as the *Jeffersonian,* but it more than held its own in disloyal utterances. It also had trouble with mobs and interference.

Those were the days when editors owned and ran their papers to suit their own tastes and not those of the advertisers or the business managers. Men could afford to be independent, and they were. That day and type of independence has for most of them gone forever.

In the Civil War the call to arms, in both North and South, received virtually the unanimous support of the various denominations. The minority in the churches was swept under by the advancing tide. The Methodists, particularly, took great pride in their record of "one hundred per cent" loyalty. Abraham Lincoln sent them a letter:

> Nobly sustained as the Government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this, it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the rest, is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Episcopal Church has sent more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals and more prayers to heaven than they! God bless the Methodist Churches! And blessed be God, who in this trial giveth us the churches.[39]

As the war progressed and the Southern armies receded, the Northern churches entered sections of the South and took possession of some Southern churches. This type of invasion met with the approval of the War Department (but not of Lincoln) which commanded the Federal generals to give over to the Northern church boards and leaders all the churches in their areas "in which a loyal minister does not officiate." [40]

The pretext which the Yankees gave for this invasion was that it was missionary work. The protests of the Rebels met with an appeal to

[39] Nicolay, J. G. and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln, A History,* Century, N. Y., 1890. Vol. VI., p. 324.

[40] McPherson, Ed., *The Political History of the United States During the Great Rebellion.* Appendix, "The Church and the Rebellion," pp. 461-554. Washington, D. C., 1882, p. 514.

Scripture: had not Jesus commanded his followers to go "into all the world and preach the gospel." [41]

Not all the Northern churches participated in this experiment in acculturation, though large organizations like the American Baptist Mission Society did so.[42] In 1864, the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church appropriated $35,000 for this particular work and missionaries were sent to various sections of the South.[43]

The attitude of the churches toward the dissenting minority seems in general to have been whole-heartedly to support the government in its methods of suppression. The pulpits were utilized as vantage points of attack upon all those who refused to support the war. The Copperhead newspapers were constantly defending themselves from the castigations of the clergy.

Those rare ministers, like Henry J. Van Dyke, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, and a Jeffersonian Democrat, who were opposed to the methods and doctrines of the Abolitionists, were threatened by mobs and virtually ostracized by their fellow clergymen.

There is so much important material relevant to the suppression of minority opinion during the World War, that it is impossible, even by way of a summary, adequately to deal with the topic. One can but suggest a few of the principal features of the pattern of suppression.

The period in history in which this war occurred enabled the contending sides to take advantage of the resources of advanced capitalistic systems. The concentration of economic power, and the great expansion of governmental functions in bringing about "economic mobilization" is a significant contrast to preceding wars in which this country had been involved.

Church support of the government was practically unanimous. Pulpits again became recruiting stations and among the best means of spreading propaganda for the winning of the war. As an advertisement of the Interchurch World Movement phrased it: "Every office of the government with a war message to deliver appealed to the ministers first of all." [44]

There was scarcely a patriotic activity, from recruiting to working in shipyards, that ministers of the gospel and rabbis did not conceive as a part of their contribution toward the winning of the fight against the powers of darkness.

[41] Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[42] McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

[43] Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

[44] Abrams, Ray H., *Preachers Present Arms*, p. 144. Unless otherwise noted references to the churches, the clergy, and the war, are from this work.

The clergy presented such a united front that outside of the Lutheran, Dunkard, Mennonite and similar groups, which in some instances had a marked German background, there were very few Nonconformist ministers. After a lengthy search from coast to coast, I could discover only 90 in the entire United States and then can vouch for only 70 of these. Many of them are comparatively obscure men. Practically all of the clergy of prominence supported the war. Outstanding men, like John Haynes Holmes, who did not, could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. I do not pretend to have uncovered all the pacifist divines, but have reason to believe that the list includes most of those who voiced pacifist sentiments. The statistics show how little was the resistance offered by the clergy of the war.

As for the governmental control of opinion, in contrast to Lincoln's extra-legal methods and lack of organization, under Wilson all power needed for suppression was granted by Congress in the Espionage Act of 1917 and the amended act of 1918. The States also had their various sedition acts.

In 1864, Attorney-General Bates' office was not even a department, and there were only eight persons immediately connected with it. The year's budget for salaries was $18,264.[45]

Gregory's department expended in 1918, $530,000 for salaries. The secret service division of the department was five times as large in 1918 as in 1916. The attorney-general's office was also aided by various citizen's organizations like the American Protective League, a purely voluntary civilian's organization which acted as an auxiliary to the Department of Justice. Its membership has been estimated at 2,250,000 with branches in every city and town of any considerable size in the United States. Upwards of 3,000,000 investigations were conducted by the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, the Provost Marshal's office, etc.[46]

With this gigantic spy and witch-hunting service the nation should have been well protected from spies within and enemies without. Yet, in spite of all these activities, we did not capture and convict a single first-class German spy of any overt act which had been calculated to give direct aid or comfort to the enemy.[47]

There were, however, about 2,000 prosecutions and other judicial proceedings during the war.[48] Most of these were for what now would

[45] Randall, supra, p. 525.

[46] Report of the Attorney-General, 1918, pp. 14-15; Dunning, W. A., "Disloyalty in Two Wars," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 625-630; Abrams, *supra*, Chap. V.

[47] Beard, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 643.

[48] Chafee, Jr., Zechariah, *Freedom of Speech*, Harcourt Brace, N. Y., 1920, p. 1.

be regarded as harmless offenses, but in those times even experienced judges became hysterical and delivered charges to the jury which in these days sound almost incredible. Men were punished for criticizing the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A. In Minnesota a gentleman was sentenced to jail for discouraging women from knitting by the remark: "No soldier ever sees those socks." Some man on his way to enlist might have heard about the remark and lost his morale. In the famous case of United States versus Rose Pastor Stokes, the jury convicted her under the Espionage Act for merely having written in a letter the words: "I am for the people and the government is for the profiteers." Judge Valhenburgh sentenced her to ten years in prison.[49]

Thus did the American people strive to make the world safer for freedom and democracy.

There is plenty of evidence that many ministers helped to stir up hysteria about spies, pro-Germans, pacifists, and those who were considered enemies. There seems to be little question but what the mass of church people and their leaders thoroughly approved of the methods used for dealing with those suspected of disloyalty of one type or another.

The various minority groups, save the Quakers, Mennonites and Dunkards, were shown little mercy or consideration by the churches as a whole. Conscientious objectors, political objectors, pacifists, and those lukewarm in their interest in the struggle were held up to scorn and ridicule by most of the clergymen. That there were exceptions is true, but they were few and far between. In fact, the men of the cloth were much more violent in their denunciation of the conscientious objectors than the War Department itself.

The war became a crusade to kill Germans to make the world safe for true Christianity. In their zeal to aid in accomplishing this objective, Christians sometimes helped in the suppression of minority groups which had been thoroughly disliked by the larger churches. I refer particularly to the action against the Russellites in various cities. Moreover, some clergymen helped to send some of their fellows to prison because they did not approve of the religious views held by the victim. This is certainly true in the case of Clarence Waldron, Baptist minister in Windsor, Vermont, who was sentenced to Atlanta for fifteen years for distributing a pamphlet which stated that Jesus would not fight.

We might also bear in mind that college professors, particularly the historians, were most active in helping to prosecute the war. Our most eminent scholars and members of the higher learning built up a historical

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58, *et passim.*

frame of reference into which the Germans were very neatly and appropriately placed as the enemy of true civilization and culture.

The president of the American Historical Association, elected soon after the United States went into the war, wrote, among other things, a book on *Germany versus Civilization*. He stated as his purpose: "To prevent the total pollution of our people by letting loose the Prussian moral sewers—which apparently no one in authority did anything to check —I deemed it the duty of every one of us who saw this danger and who recognized above all our national contribution to Freedom, to force the United States to join the Allies."

He was so impatient with neutrality that he said of President Wilson: "I make no specious claim to neutrality. Only a moral eunuch could be neutral in the sense implied by the *malefic dictum* of the President of the United States. . . I have noticed in the crisis that the men who boasted of being 'impartial' were either pro-German, or they had no hearts to beat faster, although the fate of mankind hung in the balance." [50]

The Germans to him were monsters and sons of Belial.

That this historian is quite typical of dozens of others everyone recognizes who has followed the subject of the record of the higher learning during the war. The historians, as a group, lost their objectivity and promoted research to prove that Germany was the archfiend of all time.[51]

Of course, it is comparatively easy to see all this in the light of post-war perspective. I am not blaming any of these men for their writings or behavior. Their record, however, is also a part of history. Furthermore, he who would look into the future gains nothing by ignoring what may seem to be unpleasant in the past.

In summary, it seems fairly obvious that since the tendency in America, as in most countries, is toward centralization and concentration of control with extension of governmental powers, in wartime it becomes a very simple matter to carry this control to the limit. The development along these lines since the Revolutionary period is evident.

Again in time of crisis the minority is going to be deprived of the boasted inalienable rights and the first amendment as well as the New Testament will be laid aside. The first casualty of war in these days is always free speech. The in-group fears adverse opinion as a threat to solidarity and its own safety.

Moreover, great masses of citizens can be counted on to help the

[50] Grattan, C. Hartley, "The Historians Cut Loose," *The American Mercury*, Vol. XI, (Aug., 1927) No. 44, pp. 416-417.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 414-430; Angoff, Charles, "The Higher Learning Goes to War," *The American Mercury*, Vol. XI, (June, 1927) No. 41, pp. 177-191.

government in suppression of the Nonconformists. The nature of the conflict makes comparatively easy the lowering of inhibitions, the pent-up sadistic tendencies have plenty of opportunities and channels through which to find an outlet for inflicting pain upon one's fellows. Hence, in every crisis there is persecution, mob action, brutality and torture, longer prison sentences. Mob action characterized all three periods under discussion in this paper. Of course social control in such times does not depend altogether upon violence or even intimidation. The fear of being an outcast or different from the majority or losing out with one's neighbors and friends is most effective in curbing dereliction.

On the positive side social control is carried on by the appeals to symbols with a powerful emotional tone and associations—the preservation of our homes, the flag, and the "sacred" things of life, whether it be private property or the protection of our mothers, wives and sweethearts. In these days, with the radio and advanced motion-picture technique, the means of indoctrinating the masses with propaganda seem almost unlimited. The "Panay" incident is a case in point.

The churches and the clergy never stand on the side-lines in a war. They are always active on the side which to them represents patriotism. In fact, they are almost indispensable in promoting morale, spreading propaganda, placing the conflict on a holy plane, and suppressing dissenters. Then in between wars, as Devere Allen has well shown, they pass anti-war resolutions.[52]

This phenomena is not confined to the clergy but is true of all the intellectuals, who, as Julien Benda points out, have left the cloisters and descended to the market-place.[53] They, also, have little respect for the minorities in time of crisis.

As for the future, that is in the lap of the gods. But, if current trends continue, we shall presumably become involved in another war. In that event, it seems to me, minority opinion will be suppressed in a more ruthless fashion than ever it has been in the history of this country. We have had concentration camps and pretty thorough liquidation of obstructionists before. The next time it will probably take place on a much more extensive scale, particularly if the crisis is prolonged over more than a couple of years. The present concentration of power in our Federal government and our trend toward a collectivist or socialized society of some kind, will make it comparatively easy for this people to slip into an Americanized Fascism almost overnight.

What will happen to those thousands of anti-war resolutions, those

[52] Allen, Devere, *The Fight for Peace,* Macmillan, N. Y., 1930.
[53] Benda, Julien, *The Treason of the Intellectuals,* Morrow, N. Y., 1928.

records of repentance, and resolves of Christians never again to bless a war? Will the churches again become recruiting stations, ministers curse the enemy, place machine-guns on the pulpit and Jesus in the trenches? Will they damn the conscientious objector by reminding him that "this war is different, for it is a Holy War to save the kingdom of God itself" and, if he refuses to go out and kill his fellow, that he is "a dirty yellow cur"? The age-long record of persecutions conducted by various churches against other dissenting groups and the habit of joining up with crusades of every description shows how conditioned and susceptible are the members to love of battle for the Lord.

As for the historians, will they again rewrite history for the occasion?

In the event that the class struggle in this country becomes a bloody revolution, and the Marxists are not the only individuals who believe in such an eventuality, on which side of the barricades will the occupants of the cloisters stand? Since the religious complexion in this country is so predominantly capitalistic, and at present most of the church members are strong adherents of the economic pattern of our society, it seems doubtful that many ministers or churches will support a radical movement of the workers. No minister at the present time in any outstanding pulpit could openly avow Communism and hold his job. The terror of Communism is not because of atheism, but its opposition to the sacredness of the private property ideology of the capitalistic system. Already the drive against Communism has been launched by the Catholic Church. It is not opposed to Fascism, for obvious reasons. The day may not be far distant when the Protestants will be forced to decide where they stand on these conflicting economic doctrines.

And the historians, will they simply take notes on the historic process from day to day?

Whichever way the conflict goes, the minorities, it seems to me, are going to be caught between the upper and the nether millstones.

As Lord Justice Scrutton phrased it: "It has been said that a war could not be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. It might also be said that a war could not be carried on according to the principles of Magna Carta." [54]

[54] Ronnfeldt v. Phillips, 35 T. L. R. 46 (1918, C. A.).

BOOK REVIEWS

REALITY AND VALUE. An Introduction to Metaphysics and an Essay on the Theory of Value. A. Campbell Garnett. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1937. Pp. 320. 12s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR GARNETT has chosen to write a book on the question of primary concern to present-day philosophy. The modern thinker wants some assurance that these experiences of life which partake of the most enriching qualities are deeply rooted in the nature of the universe. He is in quest of a philosophy of life that will show that his faith in the higher values is valid. He wants to be sure that the pursuit of truth, beauty and goodness is not leading him into a blind alley. It is the aim of this volume to offer precisely that assurance. Its standpoint is that of realism, yet it is no mechanistic realism. It is a realism that recognizes the universe as a home for the man who is seeking to realize the deeper values.

It is perfectly obvious that an experience of value includes both persons who evaluate and objects that are evaluated. Our abstract ideas have emerged out of quite concrete situations. Any theory of value that can do justice to the situation must therefore give an adequate account of both the subjective and objective factors. Professor Garnett faces this necessity with frankness and earnestness. The conclusion he reaches is that the criterion of value is subjective, but that if that be followed faithfully and intelligently it will prove to be a genuine guide, indeed our only guide to an objective standard of value. The experiences of value are real just as one's sensory experiences are real. Errors are due not to the unreality of the experience, but to interpretations based on individual points of view.

The question naturally arises as to how it is possible to attain and maintain the great values that are potential. The answer to this leads our author into the field of psychology for a discussion of the nature of the personality. Quite rightly he recognizes that the days of the old compartmentalized view of mentality are gone. The emphasis is being placed as never before on the integral unity of the mental and psychological processes. We may analyze the factors of personality for academic purposes, but we do not experience these aspects separately. Life is one. Whatever contributes to its integrity and harmony should be cultivated. Whatever leads to disintegration and discord should be avoided. This is another way of saying that value experiences may be either positive or negative. It also serves to establish the author's contention that there is an element of obligation associated with values. A value is an expression of an ideal, of that which ought to be. But what ought to be lays upon us as persons obligations to achieve the ideal. The "ought to be" implies also an "ought to do." In all of these considerations, in those of beauty and truth as well as goodness, there devolve upon us two supreme duties, the duty to be faithful and the duty to be intelligent.

There are no hard and fast lines dividing from one another truth, goodness and beauty. To be sure truth is more decidedly a cognitive experience and beauty a felt experience and goodness a willed experience. But we can no more separate them than we can divide the mental life into water-tight compartments. Professor Garnett is quite right in stressing the fact that there is no moral obligation involved in connection with what ought to be in every realm of life. Beauty and truth just

as surely as goodness make claims upon us to be cherished and developed. Personal integrity is thus the foundation for a dependable standard of values, and the assurance of a valid criterion of worth. This is surely sound reasoning. Those philosophers who pooh-pooh value experiences on the ground of sheer subjectivism do not seem to have realized that personality itself is as truly objective as it is subjective. Unless we recognize the reality of persons we have not even made a beginning toward understanding the universe of which persons are integral parts.

All of our experiences of the higher values are associated by the author with what he calls the ultimate form of the will of the individual. This is another way of saying that the experience of value includes the recognition of purpose. And the purpose to which the individual ought to devote himself is the achievement of a continuous and self-harmonious activity. It is, of course, impossible for anyone to attain harmony in all of the activities willy-nilly. That sort of harmony is not automatic like the music from a gramophone record. It calls for deliberation and comparison; in other words, for cognition and the discernment of truth. It calls, too, for a loyalty that will command one's deepest emotions to high purposes. And it includes the quest for a control of the world so that it will minister to the attainment of values.

There is one thing more which the author elucidates in discussing moral values. It is the social implications of personal integrity. The harmonious integration of personality is not attained in seclusion. Self-harmonious self-expression does not take place in a vacuum, but with reference to wider social relations. Not only are values developed within human society but also in a universe where the Eternal Will is seeking for recognition. Many times one's own personal values find their truest achievement in sacrifice. The finite will achieves its highest expression through its harmony with the will of God, which is articulated in love. A genuine religious experience brings the individual into touch with that which is most real through its experience of the highest values.

A. Stewart Woodburne.

Christianity—Right or Left? Which Way Will Religion Move in the World Crisis? Kenneth Ingram. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1937. Pp. 207. 6s.

I wish to commend to the readers of The Crozer Quarterly this penetrating study of the problems facing Christianity in the world of conflicting movements. It is written by an Englishman with special reference to the Christianity of his own country. But the principles enumerated hold with equal validity for Christianity in the United States.

The author describes the rise and decline of capitalist civilization, and points out the distinguishing features of the capitalist economy. These are: (1) it is a competitive system; (2) a profit-making system; (3) based on private ownership; (4) and is an unplanned economy; (5) which inevitably created a class-system. It is this system in its classical features which has been showing definite signs of disintegration. The question arises as to what will take its place. Two opposing movements are competing for that succession. The one is fascism which would substitute a planned and state-controlled capitalism for the old *laissez-faire* type. The other is communism which would quite remove private ownership and the profit-making economy. These two movements have exponents among the peoples of Europe: fascism in Germany and Italy; communism in Russia. Mr. Ingram

proceeds to examine the systems as in actual operation, and to analyze them in their relation to the Christian ethic.

The question of pressing concern is stated in the subtitle of the book. Or better still, Which way *should* religion move in the world crisis? It is the considered opinion of the author that fascism is to be feared as the worst enemy of Christianity today. It is a denial of the primary values of personality which have been fundamental in Christian ethics when it has been most true to the teaching and example of Jesus. On the other hand the Russian type of communism has been atheistic and autocratic. He believes that the bad features of Russian communism are due more to its Russian features than to communism itself. The same evils were to be found in the Russia of Czarist times. The economy of communism which recognizes the equality of economic status in individuals is much more in harmony with Christian principles than has been hitherto recognized. Ingram therefore unhesitatingly believes that the Christian forces should ally themselves with all those forces which are determined to resist fascism.

Whether the church will take the Christian attitude or not is questionable, according to our author. As far as England is concerned he thinks the Church is likely to follow the traditional English habit of finding a middle ground. It is, however, going to be increasingly difficult to mediate between two systems so diametrically opposed to each other. Ultimately, thinks the author, a leftist movement is inevitable, and a new type of Christianity must emerge to meet the situation. Whether one agrees with the author or not, he most certainly challenges Christian people to take stock of their loyalties in the present crisis and confusion.

A. Stewart Woodburne.

The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland. Isabel E. Rathborne. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 275. $3.25.

Spenser's "Faerie Queene" is "an expression of the Renaissance cult of fame, regarded as the decisive stimulus to moral action both for the individual gentleman and for the national State in whose service he finds his fullest expression" (p. 157).

The glory of this world is transitory. Sung by poets and dreamed of by mere men, desirable and praiseworthy, it is still doomed to vanish into thin air. It is not the glory of the afterworld, heaven, nor yet the undying fame that dwells in the memory of God. Pursue it as we may, capture a part of it as we can, it still remains, on the whole, elusory and illusive.

Through a bewildering maze of parallels with Roman, Greek, French and Italian literature, the author has traced the allegories of life used by Spenser. It is an admirable bit of research work, providing much additional material for the body of commentary on "The Faerie Queene."

Robert E. Keighton.

Ballad Opera. Edmond McAdoo Gagey. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 259. $3.00.

The *Ballad Opera* was a form regarded as "an impudent newcomer in eighteenth-century drama" that came into prominence with John Gay's "The Beggar's Opera," lasted for about twenty years—rarely surviving beyond 1750—and then lost its hold upon the people to the new comic opera that became popular in the second half of the century.

During the Restoration and afterward there was a curious interest in ballad

music, a concern for low life and a passion for satire. These were capitalized ("The Beggar's Opera" made Gay Rich and Rich Gay) by many writers, some of whom sought to keep the form alive even up to 1800.

This study is distinctly a reference-book, full of synopses of the "operas" appearing in this period. The author gives the background for Gay's work, including personal experiences. He contends that Doctor Johnson's assertion that Gay invented the ballad opera must be qualified. The materials were at hand in Newgate life and drama, opera, contemporary comedy, ballad singers and English song, as well as the French drama at the fairs. He also adds his word to that of others who uphold Gay as the first to use this form, against the claim made for Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd."

In a virtually uncharted field on English drama, Doctor Gagey has given us another fine book to go with others in the "Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature."

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

COLUMBIA POETRY 1937. With an Introduction by Oscar James Campbell. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xviii, 70. $1.00.

FIRST read Professor Campbell's Introduction; it is an excellent summary of the work of these young poets and, indeed, of the poetry of our day. You will better understand what they are doing and trying to do.

Contrary to our usual idea of the poems of modern youth, these writers are cautious, for the most part gentle in treatment, tolerant and keenly observant. Some have achieved a high degree of minute description in facile phrases. Usually they paint in broad strokes the generalizations of a panorama; occasionally they produce the cameo of sharply focused attention. Almost always there is the illusive overtone so delicately suggested that the reader is not quite sure whether it may be only in his own interpretative approach.

Very quietly drawn "conclusions" are present, but never too apparent or obtrusive. Even the infrequent reaching for the "poetic" word and the consequent overshooting of the mark of simplicity does not mar these fine characterizations of people, types and incidents.

The volume is a hopeful sign of poetry's return to sanity.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

THE RECOVERY OF IDEALS. Georgia Harkness. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. xiii, 237. $2.00.

ONE always approaches a book by this Professor of Religion at Mount Holyoke with the assurance that here will be worth-while reading. This volume is certainly no exception.

It is based upon the assumption that the character of our young people—the youth of the "lost generation"—is marked by despair, or at least by a lessening of courage. They have even challenged the reality of ideals; certainly their vitality! Doctor Harkness well presents the cause of this "mental and spiritual depression" and then equally well proceeds to reestablish the place and power of ideals. "In short, an ideal is an idea made dynamic through feeling. It is a regulated value-judgment" (p. 48). There are levels of ideals, the height of which is "triumphant religion." Arriving at this point and showing the importance of "synoptic super-

naturalism" (Chapter VIII), the rest of the book deals with God and the relation of God to the ideals by which men live.

Much is made of the similarity of religion and the method of the religious to the procedure and conclusions of the remainder of life and its expressions; e. g., science, morality, art and creative living. God is a matter of presumptive faith, but this is not unique in any way. He is, rather, a valid assumption in many ways.

There is one question we must ask the author. Why is it that a modern, liberal presentation of God makes him less compelling and less attractive than the presentation which we reject? Is it the hold of tradition, because it is as yet new and unassimilated, because it is less tangible and the imagery is more difficult, or what?

Doctor Harkness admits that liberalism has left the main stream and shows adequate awareness of the religious situation today, as she well illustrates in pp. 189ff. and clearly demonstrates in Chapter XV, "Barriers to Religious Living." Her last chapter, "Invincible Surmise," sums up the theme and the book.

ROBERT E. KEIGHTON.

THE FINE ART OF PREACHING. Andrew Watterson Blackwood. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 168. $1.75.

ANY book on the Art of Preaching is grounded in the assumption that those who have dedicated their lives to this art have come far short of "arriving." To this most of us will say in confession, "We have fallen far short." Dean Brown in the foreword of his book, *The Art of Preaching,* states, "The reluctance of multitudes of thinking people to sit under our preaching is our challenge to do our bit in a more effective and interesting way." Therefore it is that we welcome with interest this book of Professor Blackwood's, *The Fine Art of Preaching.* He lays the groundwork for an able discussion of preaching in the three persons who should enter into every sermon. In their order, God—hearer—self. The history of preaching begins with the Bible. Moses, Isaiah, Samuel, Elijah, Amos and Hosea are cited as noble exponents of the art. In the New Testament John the Baptist, Jesus —who "spake as never man spake"—Peter and Paul of the Apostles. Understanding what the sermon is constitutes the basic requisite of good preaching. The root meaning of "test" is "to weave." Therefore in preaching a sermon we should aim at the completion of a design. Use of materials, and the proper exercise of the imagination in the completion of this design are ably discussed by the author.

Five chapters are given to the planning of the sermon, its naming, and style of presentation. The practical value of the book, for those of us who preach, is found in these chapters. "Clearness, interest, and beauty are the tests of a sermon, and when a sermon, characterized by these virtues, is mediated through a consecrated personality it is effective."

The book is challenging to those of us who are sadly aware that we have barely touched the fringe of the possibilities of our high calling as ministers of Christ. A careful reading will open our eyes as to ways in which we can become more effective in this our chosen field.

WILLIAM J. HAYES.

BURNING QUESTION. Louis Wallis. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co. 1937. Pp. x, 111. 75 cents.

THE subtitle of the book indicates that the "burning question" is "making your living in a monopolized world." The author is a well-known writer and lecturer

on economics, who was born about three years before Henry George published *Progress and Poverty*. He agrees with that economist that taxation should be transferred from productive industry to land values, but not upon the same grounds.

While Mr. Wallis is not sure that a "single" tax would produce sufficient revenue to meet public needs, he is confident that by its adoption "speculation in land can be completely broken up; the monopoly cost of ground can be reduced; the tax penalty upon productive capital can be largely or wholly abolished; and the ground rent now drained into private pockets can be siphoned into the public treasury." This broad statement is made in connection with the chapter on "Why Slum Clearance Fails" in which the writer shows that the high cost of building sites and the excessive taxes on improvements make it impossible to provide model dwellings at reasonable rents without a subsidy which puts an additional load of taxation on American property and industry as a whole. After a searching criticism of the "lopsided," legal structure under which we live, he goes on to consider current issues, such as the difficulties between capital and labor, agricultural distress, currency inflation, et cetera, as they would be affected by the proposed method of taxation.

The practical common sense of the author is evident throughout the book. He thinks it would be "most unwise" to predict the coming of a "social utopia" on the basis of his proposal; he regards as very dangerous "the idea (which tends to spread at the present time) that the future belongs either to communism or fascism, and that there is no middle ground of sane and moderate readjustment between these violent extremes." He feels sure that "the socialist movement is mistaken in denouncing capital as the villain of the economic drama."

The issues raised by this book are particularly pressing in these days when the drain upon public treasuries because of relief and other problems makes increased revenue imperative. The writer has made a valuable and timely contribution toward the solution of the difficulty.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

JUNIOR ASSEMBLY PROGRAMS. Ethel Harrison Grice. Nashville: Broadman Press. 1937. Pp. 169. $1.00.

THIS volume contains fifty programs which were prepared by a junior superintendent for use in her own department. They meet the normal interests and needs of pupils from nine through twelve years of age. These programs are pupil-centered and are splendid guides for further development. The program calendar consists of Special-Day units such as Armistice Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Years, etc.; Church and Denominational Programs; Humanitarian Programs; Character-Trait Programs and others which are miscellaneous. This book contains a wealth of suggestive material for the junior worship service. It is not a volume of theory, it has been actually worked out, both by the author and the reviewer. Money invested in this book will be well spent.

LILA M. TURNER.

BAA, BAA, BLACK SHEEP. Henry Cook. London, England: The Carey Press. 1937. Pp. vii, 108. 2s. 6d.

THIS is an interesting little volume, for the author uses as the basis of his talks some of the old nursery rhymes and from these constructs analogies in Christian living. It is cleverly done, and it is amazing how he draws forth religious interpretations, finally linking them with verses of Scripture. If one uses these stories, the

success of the message depends upon the story-teller. If the leader is expert in telling stories, these "nursery rhymes" can be made effective, otherwise they will appear to be quite silly.

LILA M. TURNER.

VARIETIES OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE. Sv. Norborg. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1937. Pp. 289. $2.50.

IN 1902 William James pioneered in the psychological treatment of religious phenomena in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*. In 1937 Doctor Norborg, lecturer in philosophy at the University of Minnesota, concludes that James' lectures "all reveal a pathetic lack of understanding of genuine Christian faith and Christian experience" (p. 257), and sets himself the task of going the needed step beyond James.

The lectures are devoted to the problem of the psychic uniqueness of the Christian experience, as it is differentiated on one hand from the merely religious experience, and on the other from the quite separate Christian faith. He first considers the normal Christian experience, then views it from the psychological and theological view-points. Christian experience must be judged from two standpoints—"healthy-mindedness" (from James) and its extra-subjective truth. Only two types of religious experience can fulfil the criterion of "healthymindedness"—the one, genuine, classic mysticism, the other, true Christianity. The basic reality experiences of personal Christian life are sin and the forgiveness of sin. The absolutely decisive element of Christian conversion is the "hearing of the word of God." The best of all too few attempts to analyze the *uniqueness* of the Christian experience is the following: (1) In the Christian experience there is nothing morbid, no psychopathic dwelling upon lost years of service; (2) the Bible is the "psychological motive force" toward changed behavior; and (3) the Christian conversion is followed by a joyful wish for activity.

The psychological language of this book is essentially psycho-analytic; the psychological system is the kind that can be explained by a diagram (pp. 45, 51, 202, 203). The theological view-point is strongly colored by mysticism and Barthianism, with even the case studies often couched in unnatural, theological language. In spite of the frequent use of the term "modern psychological research says," little account is taken of the findings of scientific psychology. Although the author strongly pleads for an open-minded approach to the facts as they exist, he dogmatically asserts the validity of his own approach. Instead of taking equal cognizance of the varieties of experiences of Christians, he limits discussion largely to the normal experience which for him is essentially mystical. There is an uncommon amount of repetition; more time is spent on restatement of the original problem than on constructive analysis.

The problem to which this book is directed is deserving of much study, but this reviewer feels that the task of surpassing James still remains a challenge.

PAUL HOOVER BOWMAN.

DICK SHEPPARD AND ST. MARTIN'S. R. J. Northcott. London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. 1937. Pp. xvii, 109. 3s. 6d.

THIS volume might well have appeared under the title originally chosen, "The Romance of St. Martin's." It is the fascinating story of how Dick Sheppard came to St. Martin-in-the-Fields and made it the best-known parish in the world, and of how

Pat McCormick dared to follow him. The story is told by a present worker at St. Martin's, with an introduction by the present vicar, Pat McCormick, in which he pays a devoted tribute to his much-beloved predecessor.

One may learn here of the growth of an institution from a monk's chapel literally "in the Fields" to a modern organization flanked by down-town London. Here one may read of its numerous service activities—of the Hostel for deserving men who are down and out, of the Crypt that was first an air-raid shelter and now a haven for a different conglomerate of unfortunates each night, of the capable staff who help these Crypt sleepers and many others to take their place again in society, of the "side-shows" of community singing and drama, of the church magazine that jumped from a couple of hundred to fifteen thousand copies a month, of the different service clubs for page boys, actors, and actresses employed on the same Trafalgar Square. Here also one may know the sincerity, humor, courage, and common sense of the vicar without whom the foregoing picture is incomplete.

The charm and challenge of this book is the ungarnished simplicity of a man who believes in all kinds of men, and a church that believes "the Gospel must be presented in a way that can be understood by everyone" and that "the Gospel must be taken outside the church."

PAUL HOOVER BOWMAN.

THE CHURCH LIBRARY MANUAL. Leona Lavender Althoff. Nashville: The Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. 1937. Pp. 137. 60 cents.

THE old Sunday school library has outlived its usefulness in most places, but every church has need of a library, small or large as circumstances may demand, to meet the special needs of its constituency.

This inexpensive Manual gives information of every sort needed in the installation and use of such a library, including an outline of the Dewey Decimal Classification System.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

MARCUS WHITMAN, M.D., PIONEER AND MARTYR. Clifford Merrell Drury, Ph.D. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1937. Pp. 473. $5.00.

IN *Marcus Whitman, M.D., Pioneer and Martyr,* Doctor Drury has produced a monumental work. Not only is it a detailed portrait of a great pioneer, but it lays open before the reader the whole problem of home mission activity as it existed a century ago. The background of the lives of Marcus Whitman and his wife is so carefully presented that one cannot fail to realize the natural trend of events that blazed the trail to one of the greatest catastrophes in the Northwest. Perhaps Doctor Drury is prone to underestimate the importance of Doctor Whitman's political activities, for the very evidence which he presents indicates that in the midst of his missionary activities Whitman was dreaming of the American migration which, sweeping past his door, would tie Oregon to the United States. If so, his unbiased presentation of his sources leads one to overlook the error. Everywhere in the book minute research and careful analysis are evident. Much of the material used comes from original documents or the word of an eye-witness.

However, there is nothing dry about the book. The thread of natural romance is so beautifully woven throughout that the reader is reluctant to lay the volume aside. There is no attempt to veneer the character of either the hero or heroine. Rather they are presented as very human individuals, having certain admirable qualities, and certain lamentable characteristics, for which however they paid dearly, and

which only serve to accentuate the noble sacrifice which these young people made in answering the call to duty as they understood it.

Doctor Drury includes such important new material as Whitman's medical certificate, a newly discovered picture of his mother, complete quotations from letters that had been but carelessly considered before, and a complete bibliography of all published Whitman material.

WILLIAM J. HAYES.

FROM MEMORY. J. B. Cranfill. Nashville: Broadman Press. 1937. Pp. 279. $1.50.

"REMINISCENCES, recitals and gleanings from a bustling and busy life" says this Texan journalist who was the son of a Primitive Baptist preacher and country doctor. "My father was not philologically meticulous. He used whatever word he needed, and, if necessary, emphasized it with his Colt revolver." The son with little education became a school-teacher, a country doctor, a fighting prohibitionist editing *The Turnersville Effort,* a two-column, four-page paper, and later *The Gatesville Advance* and still later *The Baptist Standard.* "I have compiled, edited and published more books than any Baptist who has ever lived in Texas and edited more Baptist papers than any other Texas Baptist." He regrets that we have gone "haywire" on "higher learning." Requirements to enter medical schools are so rigid "that neither Christ nor any of the apostles could enter a class A medical college." "Some Christian colleges are shot through with modernism, liberalism, agnosticism and communism." With devastating laudation he describes Texas Baptist preachers. Of B. H. Carroll he says, "There was not a single item in the history of the world that escaped him, and he read one thousand pages a day for more than fifty years and he remembered with remarkable accuracy everything he had ever read." Doctor Carroll was "the greatest Baptist in the world and was the greatest interpreter of the Bible and the Southwestern Baptist Seminary was the last stronghold of orthodoxy." One may join in the devastating laudation and shout, Hurrah for Texas Baptists.

ELMER WILLIAM POWELL.

ULRICH VON HUTTEN AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION. Hajo Holborn. Translated by R. H. Bainton. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 214. $3.00.

THROUGH the years, even to those not long gone by, Luther's was the only name attached to the German Reformation. Indeed, he was the Reformation. It had its origin, motive and strength in him. It began when the doughty "little monk" nailed his theses to the cathedral door in Wittenberg and it reached its high point of majesty and heroism at Worms in his declaration of resolute stedfastness, casting himself wholly upon the mercy and protection of the Almighty: "Here I stand, I can do no other, so help me God." True, it was understood the people had suffered and so there was a social cause of this movement. The ancient church had deceived them by its sale of indulgences, they were as sheep without a shepherd and the authorities of State, powerful and conscienceless princes, had held them in complete serfdom. Luther alone was their champion.

Further unbiased study had changed this picture somewhat or had given a new perspective. Luther still remained at the center but many associates were grouped about him. Their greatness, however, was the reflected light of his glory.

Hajo Holborn, ably assisted by his translator, R. H. Bainton, of Yale, has clarified that picture. For three decades before the rise of Luther, in 1517, many voices had been raised demanding reformation. Unable to enforce the verdicts of

its own diets because of lack of internal unity, menaced by the Turks in the east, plagued by France in the west, the Empire had disintegrated. Among those many voices demanding action the most eloquent and insistent was that of Ulrich von Hutten.

Born April 21, 1488, of noble family, Hutten could never forget the fact that he was a knight. His attitude toward the problems of the time was always that of the warrior, ready to take up arms in the conflict. Perhaps the very insecurity and disturbances of his social order made him all the more belligerent. For the days were far past since "Knighthood was in Flower." Thus he was always more nationalistic than religious in his concern for the Reformation. It was a new, free, independent Germany he sought, strong to strike forth in her own right.

His father in his impecunious station placed him, in 1499, in the convent at Fulda, thinking that thereby the son would be assured a benefice. But the young knight fled the hated restraint in 1505 and became an itinerant mendicant scholar, studying a few months at one or other of the many universities and finding increased interest in humanism. It was in the days of Maximilian who "drew German humanism out of the schoolroom into the world arena and breathed into it something of the active joy of his own nature." It was of the joyous nature of Hutten as well.

Its relentless attack upon Scholasticism was to his liking and his associate authorship of the *Letters of Obscure Men* shows him, perhaps, at his best. He delighted in this mocking of Reuchlin's opponents. But here also Hutten is seen in clear contrast with his fellow writers. Where Crotus reveals the scholar, keen and charming in satire, Hutten is heavy, bitter in his invective.

Perhaps, as the author suggests, this explains his attachment to such a man as Erasmus whom he regarded as the greatest teacher of the philosophy of life, and whom he called the German Socrates. "You have helped us as much in Scholarship as he in his Greek."

Yet he could not follow his teacher fully. The latter's ideal was the restoration of western Christianity through the spread of a new or renewed culture. The study of the classics and early Christian authors was the way by which men were to be led to the height. A knowledge of the Church Fathers, but especially of the Gospels and the Pauline letters would restore Christianity to the intent of its founders, namely, a popular philosophy, a wisdom free from overrefined speculation, simply to tame the world, despise the bad, and learn to do good. "The Cross meant to him the victory over all human passion."

All of which might be true for the restless knight. He didn't quite know because he didn't quite understand. He knew something was wrong in this world of men—distress, insecurity, a weak, inefficient government. The Papacy was the enemy of Germany, a breaker of the peace—smite it.

Eventually these men must draw apart. Could there be spiritual fellowship between them? Yet when the Reformation is well advanced Erasmus could say of the fiery warrior: "Where shall we find such a genius if anything goes wrong?"

Somewhat similar was the relationship between Hutten and the reformer Luther. When the difficulty first arose in Wittenberg it appeared nothing other than a quarrel over indulgences and Hutten hoped that the theologians would devour one another. The Turks were driving at the eastern gates and Hutten stirred the blood of his fellow countrymen. "Make war! Up! Then will our former glory revive, our ancient German valor gleam like the plow in the furrow." Forespeaking the present by over four centuries!

But after the Leipsic disputation he became a stanch supporter of Luther. The fearlessness of the monk endeared him to his heart. On June 4, 1520, he wrote Luther declaring his support. "I will stand by you whatever comes." Yet that which bound these men together was their courage. They were not comrades either in objective or in method. Hutten, the humanist, was concerned for justice. His cause was not so much God's cause as it was a just cause. Luther was deeply religious. He was fighting God's cause. He was concerned not so much for himself as for others. Each was aware of the difference and Hutten wrote Luther: "Here is the difference between us. I look to men. You, who are already more perfect, trust everything to God." Hutten remained the same man. Luther was a changed man. Yet humanism, which never took deep root in Germany, prepared the way for the Reformation and Luther was aware of it. His *Address to the German Nobility* appropriated the national aspirations of the humanists. They needed each other—these two systems and these two men. Neither one alone could set Germany free. And that accounts for the mistakes and failures of the Reformation. There were compromises. Religion could never be entirely free from nationalism, the German radicalism—the knight—Hutten or Sickingen—fighting for a lost cause.

But who shall lay the charge of blame! Those were stirring, dangerous days of powerful forces. A new world was being created. Great men were seeking to mold it. The author and his translator have opened wide a window to let us see those mighty forces, sometimes friendly, sometimes conflicting, struggling in the task of reshaping that medieval world.

R. E. E. Harkness.

From Richardson to Pinero: Some Innovators and Idealists. Frederick S. Boas. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. vii, 292. $3.00.

The period from Richardson to Pinero covers almost two hundred years. Doctor Boas found among his writings several papers dealing with novelists, poets, dramatists and actors who had made contributions to the literature of this period. Gathered together, the papers told the story of innovators and idealists. They are brief studies, essays, on somewhat restricted themes; but they make most interesting reading.

There is a suggestive study of Wordsworth and his political poems; an excellent interpretation of Robert Browning and of his "Paracelsus"; a charming picture of Elizabeth Browning that tells again the Carter and Pollard story of the "Sonnets"; a fuller story of Arthur Henry Hallam than most readers of "In Memoriam" know; and a successful attempt to restore the prestige of Tennyson, through an analysis of the "Idylls of the King." The inherent weakness of the "Idylls" is admitted; viz., the impossible use of Arthur both as a character in the story and as an allegory. Yet their beauty and value are enhanced by understanding this and refusing to allow it to be the most important characteristic of the work.

While not all these characters may seem to us to be quite "innovators," the essays are especially illuminating and the student and reader will certainly find them "idealists."

Robert E. Keighton.

Beyond Tragedy. Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. 306. $2.00.

Here is a significant book which is certain to enjoy a long reading, though probably not a wide reading. Although printed as a volume of sermons it turns out to be a

series of fifteen dialectical essays emanating from the pen of one of America's most forceful Christian thinkers. It is strong meat, and requires strength to digest it, but it has all the vitamins so sorely needed in the intellectual diet of the modern minister. The willing reader's first cursory trip through the opening chapters is almost certain to be disappointing, unless he be unusually well-equipped mentally and possesses a facility for abstract thinking. A second reading is apt to shame the gentle reader into a third, and more deliberate attempt, which is bound to be rewarding.

Doctor Niebuhr has eminently succeeded in laying down the canons of liberal, theological judgment so convincingly that the serious reader feels like chucking all his preconceived theological notions for the purpose of reconstructing his thinking on sounder foundations. Old Testament myths take on a new, and a more universal significance as the author demonstrates them to be neither history nor fiction, but rather creative attempts to paint on the canvas of time the perspectives of eternity. New Testament teachings compel us with a fresh vividness as he mows down the half-truths which less incisive thinking has planted about them. The Christian interpretation of life is vindicated, and the hope of the gospel becomes reasonably tenable as he deals with the problem of human existence, pointing out that the religion of Jesus is neither pessimism nor optimism, but a higher view of existence which goes beyond both.

MILTON C. WESTPHAL.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE MODERN STATE. Nils Ehrenström. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company. 1937. Pp. 158. $1.50.

THE ascendency of the totalitarian state and consequent rise of new issues in the relations between church and state are responsible for the appearance of this book. The author, Nils Ehrenström, played a significant rôle in several continental conferences which convened in anticipation of the World Conference on Church, Community and State held at Oxford during the past summer. The material presented draws upon most of the important works published in continental Europe during recent years which bear on the subject. Since the book purports to be a prolegomena for those who would reexamine the age-old problem of church and state in the light of new political developments, it asks more questions than it answers. Its ponderous style, and its lack of well-conceived, illustrative material make reading tedious, if not unrewarding.

Probably the most significant accomplishment of the author is to be recognized in his analysis of the politico-moral principles which underlie the doctrines of the state as taught by Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. The reader becomes increasingly involved in the complexity of the problem in hand as he follows the critiques of these various ecclesiastical philosophies, and is brought to the sobering realization that unless the churches first unite ecumenically the threat of totalitarianism can never be effectively met.

The translators, Denzil Patrick and Olive Wyon, deserve high praise for accomplishing what must have been an exacting and arduous task. Since the book employs so many technical and philosophical terms in the setting forth of abstract theories and doctrines, it is not easy to read, and must have been exceedingly difficult to translate.

MILTON C. WESTPHAL.

CHRISTIAN HOPE FOR WORLD SOCIETY. John T. McNeill. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 278. $2.50.

THE Christian Evangel in the first century aimed to produce belief in Christ. Beyond that there was no thought of applying the teachings of Jesus Christ toward making the world a better place in which men might live. "Our citizenship is in heaven," savored of a hope and expectation that had little or nothing to do with the life of men here below. Yet the author denies that the movement was entirely negative. Their fellowship one with the other was productive of some social fruits, but it was bounded by the limits of their own fellowship.

With the passing of the years and the delay of the fulfilment of this hope the Christians of that early day began to think of their religion as a means that might well be exercised in improving the world. This changed and expanding view-point—that the responsibility of the church was "to hold the world together by the principle of love"—is the beginning of the stream of social interest, the rise and flow of which the author traces through the centuries.

The writings of the Fathers and the great thinkers of the church are drawn upon to mark the progress of this ever-increasing interest on the part of the church in the affairs of men. The contribution of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the age of the Reformation is discussed in several chapters.

The contemporary scene is ably discussed in a chapter on Realities. The author contends that our failure to believe that the economic goods of life are for all, and not merely for the few, has resulted in the emergence of the totalitarian state. Fascism, Nazism, and Communism—contending political philosophies—are freely discussed by the author in their relation to individual welfare and to world affairs, and their effect upon the great heritage of liberty is noted.

Through the gloom of the present the writer in encouraged by these facts. The happy relation that exists between science and religion; the resistance that religion is offering to tyranny; the spread of a mental attitude of looking forward; and the self-defeating character of evil.

The objectives which are indicated by the writer are: First, A convincing assertion of religion as a human necessity. "The soul of reformation is the reformation of the soul," but this must be based upon liberty, justice and love and not upon authority, law and hell-fire. Second, Cosmopolitanism—the cultivation of an outlook from the local and national situations to world-wide views. Third, The unification of Christianity. Fourth, The graciousness of soul, which is essential in any ministry of social reconciliation.

An impressive bibliography, which is but a part of the works consulted, indicates the book is the product of much labor and painstaking research. Its value to the reviewer is one of encouragement. The survival of the Christian Hope—the well-being of a world society through the varied and not always congenial changes of the Christian centuries—may well auger that one day the Hope will blossom into realization.

WILLIAM J. HAYES.

IT OCCURRED TO ME. Muriel Lester. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. viii, 268. $2.00.

ADMIRERS of Muriel Lester have often wished for a more extended account of her life than has appeared in book notices and magazine articles. This desire has been met by Miss Lester herself in this charming volume, in which she recounts the

experiences which caused her to devote herself to service for the poor in the East End of London, and finally resulted in her active participation as a leader in the fight against narcotics, the crusade for international peace, the American Preaching Missions and other great movements for human welfare.

Here is a fascinating account of the founding of Kingsley Hall in London and of tours around the world as an ambassador of good-will. In these pages, human interest stories of humble life in Bow, intimate revelations of the character of Gandhi, who was entertained at Kingsley Hall when he came to London for the Round Table Conference, and glimpses of unfamiliar aspects of life in the Far East, combine to hold the attention of the reader.

Best of all, the unselfish and courageous spirit of the author is revealed throughout. The secret of her useful life is well told by Gandhi in his weekly *Harijan.* Introducing his reprint of her address to the missionaries of India on "Wanted: A Manifestation of Christ in Daily Life" he says, "Many persons have written like Miss Lester before now. The value of her conversation lies in the fact that she endeavors every moment of her life to practice what she professes and preaches in her writings."

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

SOCIAL IDEALS IN GERMAN LITERATURE 1770-1830. Ludwig W. Kahn. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 108. $1.50.

TO ANYONE who can read German (for all the quotations are given in the original), and who has a taste for literary criticism, this analysis will be of considerable interest. With a strict adherence to the subject in hand, it treats the problem of the relation of the individual to society as it is presented and given tentative solutions in the writings of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and the early romanticists. The variety in the "social ideals" expressed during the sixty years considered is truly amazing.

DONALD FAY ROBINSON.

HEARKEN UNTO THE VOICE. Franz Werfel. New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. 780. $3.00.

THIS rather long novel is an interpretation of the prophet Jeremiah. It is not altogether reliable from an historical point of view. But it is intended to be portraiture rather than photography; and the portrait-painter has always the artist's right to subordinate factual reality to the deeper spiritual reality which he is trying to portray.

This more or less imaginary portrait-painting of the characters of bygone times is a popular and in many ways a valuable method of presenting the inner meaning of human history to modern readers. History strictly so-called is of high worth. But for the bulk of people the fictional interpretation of history, provided it be well done, is probably of more value. One of the most interesting pieces of such work in the field of Jewish history is Louis Untermeyer's *Moses,* a book which every minister would do well to own. Werfel now gives us Jeremiah. It is to be hoped that these books are but the forerunners of an ever more effective series of portraits of the great figures of biblical history.

DONALD FAY ROBINSON.

WILLIAM BLAKE'S CIRCLE OF DESTINY. Milton O. Percival. New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 334. $3.50.

THIS book is far from easy reading. On the other hand it is certainly one of the most important studies yet to appear of the work of William Blake.

To many, both in his own day and since, Blake has seemed an incoherent madman, and his writings but wild and whirling words. This is particularly true of those strange allegorical poems which comprise the bulk of his work. In actual fact however these same poems present a carefully wrought philosophy, expressed in terms of a consistent and exact symbolism. Mr. Percival gives a full analysis of this symbolism and so reveals the philosophy imprisoned therein. It is an extremely valuable piece of work. And though the revelation is itself rather complicated, it is far more intelligible than Blake's own esoteric writing.

It is doubtful if this is the final word on Blake. Indeed it is to be hoped that it is not. For the greatest service the book could perform would be to direct the attention of those whose minds run in philosophic channels to the thought of a man who may in time prove to have been one of the profoundest of English philosophers.

For anyone wishing to undertake a study of Blake, a most valuable auxiliary to Mr. Percival's volume would be a little-known book called *Cosmic Consciousness,* by Richard M. Bucke, published in Philadelphia in 1901. This book is in many ways inadequate as a presentation of mystic philosophy. On the other hand it gives a very suggestive series of comparative sketches of men having "a higher form of consciousness than that possessed by the ordinary man." Here the teachings of Buddha, Jesus, Paul, Plotinus and a number of others, including Blake, are set side by side with a view to showing their basic identity. This paralleling of teachings, that seem at first sight quite divergent, proves on study to be a sort of mutual interpretation of them all.

I shall make no attempt to define the specific teaching of Blake. Space forbids. But as an indication of the color and timbre of that teaching let me give a quotation that Clement of Alexandria makes from the lost gospel according to the Egyptians. Salome asks Jesus when the kingdom shall come, and Jesus answers, "When ye have trampled on the garment of shame, and when the two become one and the male with the female is neither male nor female."

DONALD FAY ROBINSON.

THE MORAL TEACHING OF JESUS. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. 186. $1.00.

THIS book is a collection of six lectures in which the author undertakes to examine certain teachings in the Sermon on the Mount and their relation to working moral codes. First, there is a study of the essential difference between ordinary moral codes and the challenge to perfectness which characterizes the spirit of life pictured by Jesus. Succeeding chapters become particular with the problems of "non-resistance" and "the relations of men and women." One is reminded of the current interest in the philosophy of international adjustments, also the burning problem of church laws regarding divorce.

It is suggested that God and the high challenges in the Sermon on the Mount are absolute requirements of a perfection that man can hardly attain. Even while he is being enriched by his vision of these ideals, he must have respect for moral codes that run more or less below the requirements for perfection. These studies are marked by keen insight and utter lack of prejudice. The writer shows unusual ability to express himself in words of one or two syllables, but offsets this advantage by the repeated use of long and badly involved sentences.

GOODWIN B. WEBSTER.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS LIVING. Karl R. Stolz. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1937. Pp. 375. $2.50.

THE Dean of the School of Religious Education of the Hartford Seminary Foundation presents in this volume valuable and readable studies in the field of religion. One feels, however, that the title is somewhat of a misnomer and is likely to detract from the usefulness of the book. On the other hand, the reader with a serious interest in a psychological approach to the problem of religion may lay it down in disappointment after the first glance because the writer deals at length with so many issues that are at best remotely connected with the subject announced. But one who is out for a broad survey of the general field of religion will be apt to leave it unopened because he does not care to give time to any lengthy treatment of religion from the standpoint of psychology.

This would be unfortunate from both angles. It must therefore be pointed out that although the book is not a systematic treatment of the subject which it announces, several of the chapters focus directly and are convincing statements of vital issues which are the common interests of both religion and psychology. Such chapters as "Religion and Mental Health," "The Recentering of Personality" and "Methods of Personality Control" are excellent instances of this, while other chapters like those on "Methods of Investigation" and "Current Schools of Psychology and Religious Personality" are splendid appraisals of current schools and methods of psychology with special regard for their religious implications.

Although the book is ostensibly a treatise on psychology, the author manifests that divine grace which delights in giving "abundantly above all that we ask or think." The general reader will therefore find helpful and readable discussions of "The Origin of Religion," "The Nature of Religion," "The Evolution of the Idea of God," "Humanism," "Action and Reaction Mysticism," "Prayer in the Universe of Law," and "Ways of Public Worship." In every instance wide reading, sober judgment, a devout spirit and a flare for homiletics lend themselves to make reading, that is so often dry and tedious, alive and vibrant. The chapter on prayer and that on religious maturity are about the finest brief analyses of those subjects with which the reviewer is familiar.

GEORGE B. MACDONALD.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND CHILD PERSONALITY. Lois Barclay Murphy. New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 344. $3.50.

THIS book is the outcome of a study made to determine the factors that decide the pattern which sympathy takes (sympathy being defined as "sharing the value of a pain or joy experience with another person as he values it"). The general nature of the study was to observe and record the actions, expressions, and conversations of groups of preschool children, in natural and controlled settings, over a period of several months. Much of the volume is therefore taken up with day-by-day observations of this nature, some of which is interesting and some of which one reads from necessity.

In interpreting the material Miss Murphy comes to the conclusion that the determining factor in the expression of sympathy is cultural. She outlines five patterns in which this expression finds outlet—(1) cooperative practical, (2) masked aggression, (3) projected anxiety, (4) emotional identification, and (5) conventional morality or duty. Despite the fact that the author seems to get the answer for

which she was looking, the work is significant and valuable and should find a permanent place among the source books on child psychology.

GEORGE B. MACDONALD.

MAKING LIFE WORTH LIVING. Joseph Sizoo. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 190. $1.75.

THIS little book is something more than a collection of sermons, although its twelve short chapters bear the unmistakable stamp of the preacher. Doctor Sizoo, through his pastorates and leadership of youth, has lived intimately with current approaches to religion. One feels the urgency of human problems on almost every page. The author keeps his promise to avoid useless theological discussions and technical arguments about religion. His language and thought expression are so simple that the man of the street can follow him without difficulty, yet the average minister will be very much at home with the book. The conscious effort to appreciate human problems and offer some practical religious approach brings about the customary sweeping generalities of the preacher.

We are introduced to such themes as: "Can We Still Believe?," "The Hunger for God," "The Power of Religion," "Tinkering with Morals," and "Standing Up to Life." The reviewer was keenly conscious of a penetrating grasp of current religious experience, a fine seasoned spirit, and a humble patience in walking with others toward a richer experience with God. There is a frank picture of the ignorance and confusion that marks so much of our present-day religious experience, but the shadows of that picture are shot through with the light of the author's faith in man and the certainty of religion's highways toward the eternal light.

GOODWIN B. WEBSTER.

THE MODERN FAMILY AND THE CHURCH. Regina Wescott Wieman. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. 425. $3.00.

FAMILY AND CHURCH. Lewis Joseph Sherrill. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1937. Pp. 266. $2.00.

HERE are two excellent volumes. They deal with the same theme and are remarkably supplementary each to the other. The first named is keenly analytical; the other, more essentially practical. They should be read in the above order, and so read, they become doubly rewarding.

Each volume is divided into four parts. The divisions in the first are as follows: "The Family in the Life of Today," "The Church and Its Relation to the Family," "The Church at Work with the Family," and "Facing the Future." "Problems of the Family," "Religious Resources," "Two Schools" (of Religion: the family and church), and "Making Resources Available" comprise the second.

Doctor Wieman's excellent book begins with a significant sentence "The family is the orphan institution among the organizations of modern civilization." She sets the task of showing why this orphan and what the church may and ought to do to rescue and care for that orphan.

Likewise the initial sentence in Doctor Sherrill's volume gives the cue to his practical interest: "What are we to do when——?" for instance, the baby first says to his mother, "No! I won't."

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

MEDITATIONS FOR THE SICK. Russell L. Dicks. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company. 1937. Pp. 113. $1.00.

THIS book grows out of the experiences of the author as a visitor in the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston. He found all sorts and conditions of patients having all sorts and conditions of needs. These he attempted to meet day by day and out of his experiences he writes a number of meditations for the patient. A half-dozen seek to help the patient think of others; seven are on "Thoughts Beyond the Sick-room." Selections of prayers, hymns, Scripture and poetry are added.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot in the foreword says, "Mr. Dicks understands sick people. He knows how they feel in wakeful hours at night and at the moments when imagination runs riot about the coming operation. . . Mr. Dicks' meditations meet the sufferer at some well-known turning in the course of illness—when he is in pain, when he is sleepless, fearful or discouraged."

I commend it to brother ministers as very suggestive. It reveals what one visitor to the sick has found helpful in trying hours. Moreover, two or three volumes of this book in one's library for loan purposes would be found most serviceable.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

BOOK NOTICES

THE LIGHT OF THE MIND. Benoni B. Gattell and Helen Stone Gattell. Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company. 1938. Pp. 140. $1.75.

THIS volume is a condensation of one of the central ideas in *Thinking and the Law of Thought,* by Harold W. Percival. Those interested in theosophy and some of the problems connected with the subjects of "reincarnation, the perfectability of man, and the development of an immortal body," will find the book of worth.

PANDORA. John Soowthern; Bibliographical Note by George B. Parks. New York: Published for the Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 35. $1.00.

THIS is a facsimile reproduction of the copy of "Pandora" in the Huntington Library, which is one of the two copies of this work which was originally published in 1584. It will interest chiefly students of English literature.

WHY WORSHIP? Muriel Lester. Nashville: Cokesbury Press. 1937. Pp. 43. 25 cents.

MISS LESTER, widely known in this country, is the Jane Addams of London. She has lived for and fought for the common people of her section of that metropolis. A sane and healthful religion has sustained her throughout the strenuous years. Increasing years with their load have increased her mystical quest; God has become a most real and reliable fountain for daily revival. Out of her own heart and life she writes *Why Worship?* In nine short chapters the author describes worship, and relates what true worship does for people. It is the sort of booklet for which we pastors might wish a wide reading among our people.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.